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A

SHORT HISTORICAL

LATIN GRAMMAR

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A

SHORT HISTORICAL
LATIN GRAMMAR

BY

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

TEACHERS of Latin Grammar have for a long time felt the need of a book which will exhibit the historical development of Latin Accidence and explain the anomalies of Latin Declension and Conjugation, which will explain, for example, how *itineris* became the Genitive of *iter*, how *volo, vis, vult* differ from *lego, legis, legit*, why the Comparative of *magnificus* should be *magnificentior*, why the Preposition *circum* should have a by-form *circa*. In this *Short Historical Latin Grammar*, designed for the Universities and the Higher Forms of Schools, I have tried to present this information in an intelligible and, if possible, interesting form. While making full use of the discoveries of Comparative Philology, which have in recent years added so much to our knowledge of Latin, I have avoided the technical vocabulary of that science, and in quoting parallels to Latin words have restricted myself to the Greek, to the exclusion of Sanscrit, Gothic, and the other Indo-European languages. It is true that each and every problem of the Latin language has not yet been solved, but for all that the stability of most of the results reached by the methods of Comparative Philology is beyond question; and every one who has studied the

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subject with any minuteness knows which results are certain and which may have to be modified by subsequent research. I have endeavoured to steer a middle course between leaving difficulties untouched and offering explanations which may have to be discarded later. For a discussion of questions which are still *sub judice*, and for a detailed account of the evidence on which judgements in this book are grounded, I refer the reader to my larger work, *The Latin Language* (Clarendon Press, 1894).

W. M. LINDSAY.

OXFORD:
September, 1895.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE last twenty years have not contributed much to Latin Philology. There have been some new and attractive theories, which however cannot be called certain, such as the clever suggestion that the changes of Latin Accentuation—at first of the opening syllable, then of the antepenultimate or penultimate—should be ascribed to the Etruscan domination and to the influence of Greece. But a manual like this must always lag behind the vanguard of research, and I have not made too many alterations of the first edition.

Of new inscriptions the most important for our purpose is the Forum fragment, with its SAKROS 'sacer', DIOVESTOD 'justo'. Otherwise Epigraphy

has not brought much fresh material. Palaeography, which has made great advance in recent years, has taught us that the letter *j* was used in the cursive script of the Empire. For the letter *v* there is hardly ancient sanction, but both *j* and *v* are necessary for a manual on Latin Philology. A paragraph on these two letters has been added at the end of the first chapter.

The paragraph on the pronunciation of the Latin Diphthongs has been re-written in order to expose the fallacy which underlies the pronunciation of *terrae* as if this Genitive-form were (in the Golden Age of Latin) merely a disyllabic *terrāī*. I pity the instructor who teaches his pupils this wrong, though 'authorized', pronunciation of the Diphthong and then has to explain to them how the *e* of *prehendo* is a shortening of the *ae* of *prae*.

This edition will be found more useful than the first by students of Romance Philology.

W. M. LINDSAY.

St. Andrews:
September, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

LATIN was the language of the Latini, who inhabited ancient Latium, the plain at the mouth of the Tiber. The subsequent greatness of Rome, the chief town of Latium, made Latin in time the language, not only of the whole of Italy, but also of the Roman provinces, Gaul, Spain, and the like. The languages of modern Italy and these other countries where Latin was formerly spoken are called 'Romance languages'; and it is possible with the help of inscriptions and parchments to trace step by step the way by which, after the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.), the 'Vulgar Latin' of Italy, France, Spain, &c., passed into the form of modern Italian, French, and Spanish; how, for example, Latin *caballus*, a horse, became Italian cavallo, Spanish caballo, Portuguese cavallo, Provençal cavals, French cheval, Roumanian cal.

A language is never stationary; and if what may be called the 'modern Latin' of the Romance languages has developed in this way, we may be sure that ancient Latin had a corresponding development. Of this we may mark several stages: (1) Prehistoric Latin, the language in its earliest form, (2) Preliterary Latin, till the beginnings of literature at Rome in the latter part of the third century B.C., (3) Early or Old Latin, as used by the earliest writers, Livius Andronicus, Naevius,

Plautus, Ennius, and the like, (4) Republican Latin, till Cicero's time, (5) Classical Latin, the Latin of the 'Golden Age' from Cicero to Augustus, (6) Silver Age Latin, of the earlier writers of the Empire, (7) Late Latin, till the fall of the Western Empire.

The Romans took at all times a keen interest in their language. Some of the greatest names of Roman History are connected with reforms of spelling or grammar, statesmen like Appius Claudius Caecus, Scipio Africanus Minor, Julius Caesar, and the Emperors Augustus and Claudius. The earlier writers, e. g. Ennius, Lucilius, Accius, were Grammarians as well as Poets. The studies of Grammar and Phonetics, imported from Greece in the last century of the Republic, were prosecuted with the utmost zest for many centuries, the most famous names being, in the time of Cicero, M. Terentius Varro; in the reign of Augustus, Verrius Flaccus; in the first century A. D., Probus, the elder Pliny; in the second century, Velius Longus, Aulus Gellius; in the third, Marius Plotius Sacerdos; in the fourth and fifth, Nonius Marcellus, Donatus, Charisius, Diomedes; and in the sixth, Priscian.

Their writings, such as have been preserved to us, give us a great deal of information, not only about the language of their own time, but also of the earlier stages of Latin. For these earlier stages we have further the help of the old inscriptions, few of which however are prior to the second century B.C. Our materials therefore for a Historical Grammar of Latin from *c.* 250 B.C. onwards are fairly complete.

For the still earlier periods we have the help of the kindred languages of Italy, the Oscan, Umbrian, &c. They are closely connected with Latin and throw a great deal of light on the origin of Latin forms and constructions. In fact, if we had enough of these 'dialectal' inscriptions, there would be few problems of the language which remained unsolved. But unfortunately there has not yet been any systematic and thorough search for the records of these kindred stocks, and the inscriptions that have been discovered are tantalizingly meagre.

For the earliest history of all we must fall back on the Science of Comparative Philology. The discovery in the last century that some Asiatic languages (Indian, Persian) and most European are so closely connected that they must have sprung from a common parent language, usually called the 'Indo-European', has brought into existence a new study, the comparison of these languages with each other in order to find what this parent language was. By comparing the various Romance words for 'horse', just mentioned, it would be possible to conjecture the form of the Latin prototype from which they have all descended, *caballus*. In the same way we can guess at the early form, what is called the 'Indo-European' form, underlying any cognate group of words in the various Indo-European languages; e.g. Lat. *māter*, Dor. Gk. *μᾱ́τηρ*, Sanscrit mātár-, Old Irish māthir, Old Slavonic mater-, Armenian mair, Old English mōdor, point to something like mātēr as their prototype. We may similarly trace back

inflexions to an 'Indo- European' form, and may out of these conjectured words and inflexions construct an 'Indo-European' alphabet.

Of the various members of the I.-Eur. family the most closely related to Latin and the Italian languages seems to be the Celtic group (Irish, Welsh, and in ancient times Gaulish). Thus in Celtic as in Latin we have a Passive in -R (ch. vi. § 6), a Dat. Pl. of the Third Declension in -bhŏs (e.g. Gaulish mātrebos, O. Ir. mātrib, Lat. *mātribus*), a Future in -BH- (e.g. O. Ir. carub, 'I will love', quasi 'carabo', Lat. *amabo*); and Irish Nouns in -tiu, e.g. mitiu (ancient stem mentiōn-) correspond to Latin in *-tiō*, e.g. *mentio* (ch. xi. § 12).

For our knowledge of the relationship of Latin to the other Indo-European languages we are most indebted to Corssen, and to the three great Comparative Philologists Brugmann, Osthoff, and Johannes Schmidt; for the history of Early Latin to Ritschl and Buecheler.

NOTE.

Paragraphs in small type may be omitted by all but advanced students. An asterisk prefixed to a word indicates that the word does not occur in the extant literature. Italic type is, as a rule, used for Latin words, stems, and inflexions.

CHAPTER I

THE ALPHABET

§ 1. The Greeks of Chalcis in Euboea had at an early time founded colonies at Cumae and other spots on the coast of Campania—colonies which took a leading place among those mercantile centres of Southern Italy which played so great a part in Italian civilisation. It was from these Chalcidic neighbours of theirs that the Latins first learnt the art of writing.

The connexion of the Latin with the Greek Alphabet is seen plainly enough, even when we look at the later forms of the two, the forms which we are in the habit of using in editions of the classical authors:—

(*Latin*) A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P
(*Greek*) A B Γ Δ E Z H (*ĕ*) Θ I K Λ M N Ξ (*x*) O Π
(*Latin*) Q R S T V X [Y Z]
(*Greek*) P Σ T Υ Φ X (*ch*) Ψ Ω.

But when we go farther back and compare the forms of the letters on the earliest Latin inscriptions with those on the earliest Euboean inscriptions, we see that the two alphabets are one and the same:—

(*Early Latin*) Ⅎ ᙠ C (Ⅰ) ᐅ ᚱ ᚹ Z ᛒ I ᛕ ᒪ
(*Early Euboean*) Ⅎ ᙠ C (Ⅰ) ᐅ ᚱ (*ĕ*) ᚹ Z ᛒ (*h*) ⊕ I ᛕ ᒪ
(*Early Latin*) ᨐ ᚿ o ᒥ ᑫ ᚱ ᔑ T V X
(*Early Euboean*) ᨐ ᚿ o (*ŏ*) ᒥ ᑫ ᚱ ᔑ T V X (*x*) Φ Ψ (*ch*),

the fact being that the Latins took over bodily from the Greeks of Campania the written signs by which these Greeks expressed the various words and sounds of their language. Now it is clear that the sounds of the Latin language were not in every case the same as the sounds formed by Greek lips, so that a Greek alphabet could not be a perfectly suitable means of expressing Latin words and syllables; and, in fact, we find that it took a great number of years before the borrowed alphabet was altered and improved to the satisfaction of the borrowers.

§ 2. The first alteration made was the disuse of the signs for the three Greek aspirates, *θ*, *φ*, *χ*. These were written in the Chalcidic alphabet ⊙ (⊕), Φ (Ⓟ), Ψ (Ψ),[1] and expressed sounds unknown to the Latins, (1) the sound of *t* followed by an *h*-sound (something like our *th* in 'an*t*-*h*eap'), (2) the sound of *p* followed by an *h*-sound (cf. our 'u*p*-*h*ill'), (3) the sound of *k* followed by an *h*-sound (cf. our 'in*k*-*h*orn'). Since these sounds never occurred in any Latin word, the three signs were never used in writing Latin, and dropped out of the Latin alphabet.[2] This then was the first departure of the borrowed alphabet from its original.

[1] The use of X for *x*, Ψ for *ch*, and the order X, Φ, Ψ are features of what are called the 'Western' Greek Alphabets, as opposed to the Ionian, &c.

[2] Though they were not used to indicate sounds, they were put to another function, that of numerical signs. ⊙ was employed as the sign of 100, and became in time adapted in form to the initial of *centum* and written C; Ⓘ was made the sign of 1000, and came to be written ↀ, ∞, and finally M, like the initial of *mille*; while D, the half of Ⓘ, became the sign of 500, just as V, 5, is the upper half of X, 10; Ψ indicated 50 and came to be written ⊥ and finally L.

§ 3. Again the *k*- and *g*-sounds of the Greeks had not the same sharp distinction as the corresponding sounds had from Roman lips, so that when a Greek pronounced his letter κ, he often seemed to a Roman to be pronouncing a *g*-sound[1] and not a *k*-sound. This led to the use of the third letter of the borrowed alphabet, written sometimes circularly, C, sometimes with an angle, ⟨, in a promiscuous fashion, now for a *g*-sound, now for a *k*-sound, so that the written signs ΑC or Α⟨ might express either the syllable *ag* or the syllable *ac*. This encroachment of the sign C or ⟨ on the sphere of the sign K was aided by the custom of writing K in two parts I⟨, with the upright part I separate from the angular part ⟨, a custom which led to K being regarded as an awkward double symbol, of which ⟨ (apparently the right-hand half of the symbol) was a short and convenient expression; and the result of all this was that the letter K practically went out of use, C or ⟨ being retained in the double capacity of a *k*-sign and a *g*-sign.[2]

§ 4. Another double sign was reduced in the same way, namely ΓΗ. This ΓΗ was a letter, or rather a letter-group, which expressed in early Greek words a sound that came nearest to the sound of early Latin *f* (ch. ii. § 6 *n.*), and was at first used by the Latins as a sign for this sound. In time it too was simplified by the dropping

[1] Greek *κόμμι*, gum, was written by the Romans *gummi*; Greek *κυβερνῶ* is in Roman spelling *guberno*.

[2] Thus on a very old inscription, called the Dvenos inscription, we have VIR⟨O ⟨*virgo*⟩ and ⟨OSMIS ⟨*cōmis*⟩ side by side.

of one of its parts, and was written without the II as a single sign, *F*. Thus *fec-* of *fecit* would be first written FHEK (or FHE⟨), then FEK (or FE⟨). The sign for *f* became in this way identical with the sixth letter of the borrowed alphabet, and opened the way to a further change. For this sixth letter, the Digamma, was used in the Chalcidic alphabet to express the *w*-sound heard in the beginning of such early Greek words as *Foῖνος*, the same as in the Latin *vinum* or the English *wine*. After a while the sound was dropt by the Greeks and became quite unfamiliar to them, so that we hear of Greek visitors to Italy finding the greatest difficulty in pronouncing Latin words like *vinum, veni*. The nearest they could come to the proper pronunciation was the use of the vowel *u* instead of the consonantal *w*-sound, *u-i-num, u-e-ni*. It was perhaps through Greek influence that the Romans came to use the sign of the vowel *u*, V, for this *w*-consonant as well as for the vowel, so that for a time V and F were employed promiscuously to express the *w*-sound, in precisely the same way as we found K and C or ⟨ to have been used promiscuously for the *k*-sound. The result in both cases was the same. The sign that had encroached on the province of the other sign ousted its rival; and for the future F held exclusively the function of representing the *f*-sound, while the *w*-sound was expressed by V (often written U; ch. ii. § 5), the same sign as did duty for the vowel *u*.

§ 5. Of the first six letters of the borrowed alphabet two have thus in course of time come to express quite different sounds from the sounds which they expressed

in the original alphabet. C or ⟨, which in the original expressed the *g*-sound, has come to express the *k*-sound; *F*, originally the sign of the *w*-sound, has become the sign of the *f*-sound. The seventh letter was likewise affected. Greek Z was the letter for the soft *s*-sound ('voiced' *s*) of our 'as', &c., a sound in use among the Latins at the time when they borrowed their alphabet. But as centuries went on, this soft *s*-sound assumed on Roman lips the sound of *r* (ch. x. § 19), so that the Gen. Plur. termination of the First Declension (ch. iii. § 4), at first pronounced *-asom* with soft *s*, and written AZOM, came to be pronounced and written *-arom* (later *-arum*); and the sign Z fell out of use in writing. This is a change in the Roman alphabet to which we can give a date. We are told that it was Appius Claudius Caecus, the famous censor of 312 B.C., who was the author of this reform; and Roman tradition preserves a curious story that one of his arguments against the letter was, that the sound which it properly expressed, the soft *s*-sound, gave the mouth the appearance of the grinning teeth of a skull. In its place in the alphabet was put a new letter, G, which came into use as a symbol of the *g*-sound, and was employed, for example, by Carvilius Ruga (a freedman of the consul of 293 B.C.) in the writing of his name (RVGA, instead of the older RVCA),[1] just as L. Papirius Crassus, dictator in 339 B.C., was the first of his family to write his name ΓΑΓΙR– instead of ΓΑΓΙZ–. This new letter G was nothing

[1] He would find it convenient to distinguish the first syllable of *Carvilius* from the second of *Ruga*.

but the letter C slightly altered by the addition of a small stroke to show that the *g*-sound and not the *k*-sound was meant. The expression of the *g*-sound had thus a curious history in Latin. First the symbol C was used; then this symbol came to be used also for the *k*-sound; finally this later use ousted the older use altogether, and a new symbol was devised for the *g*-sound.

§ 6. This collection of twenty-one letters remained the official Roman alphabet:—

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X.

The letters Y and Z are sometimes added, but are not strictly speaking Roman letters. They are nothing but the Greek Upsilon and Zeta, which came to be used in Cicero's time in writing Greek loan-words, e. g. *cymba, zona, gaza*, where previously *u* and *s* (*ss*) had been used, e. g. *cumba, sona* (Plaut.) (so classical *buxus, cupressus, guberno, massa*, &c.), just as we use the Spanish letter ñ in writing the Spanish loan-word 'cañon', or the French ç in writing the French loan-word 'façade'. They were never used in writing Latin words, except occasionally in a few which were wrongly believed to be Greek loan-words, e.g. *lacryma, inclytus*; much as we write 'rhyme' instead of 'rime' owing to an idea that it represents the Greek *ῥυθμός*. And though the Latin writers on Grammar usually include them in the Roman alphabet, they are careful to make a distinction between them and the other letters. Similarly *th, ph, ch, rh* were at the end of the Republic used for the more exact expression of Greek loan-words like *Corinthus, Philippus,*

Achilles, Rhodus, words which were earlier written with *t, p, c, r* (cf. *tus, paenula,* a coat, *calx,* lime, from Gk. *θύος, φαινόλης, χάλιξ*), and found their way even into genuine Latin words like *pulcer,* from *pŏlio,* wrongly referred to Gk. *πολύχροος* and written *pulcher* (cf. ch. ii. § 6).

§ 7. Traces of the Older Alphabet. So conservative were the Romans that the old forms and significations of the letters were often retained in isolated cases. C retained its old signification of the *g*-sound in *C., Cn.,* the symbols for the proper names *Gāius* (a trisyllable; older *Gārios,* connected with *gaudeo, gāvīsus*) and *Gnaeus* (older *Gnaiuos*; connected with *(g)nascor, (g)natus*). K was retained in the proper name *Kaeso,* written shortly *K.*; and there were old-fashioned people even in Imperial times who in their correspondence always spelt *karissime* with *k,* not *c* (cf. the spellings *Kalendae, interkalaris, kalumnia,* and other words where the guttural precedes *a*). The old five-stroked form of **M** was retained as symbol of the proper name *Mānius,* and came to be written *M'*, while the ordinary form of the letter was used as symbol of *Marcus.* Legal phraseology was especially retentive of old forms; thus the *-e* of *jure dicundo, solvendo aere alieno* is a relic of the very early usage of denoting the *ei*-diphthong by E as in the early Greek writing.

§ 8. Other modifications of the Alphabet. Some changes of the original form of writing were permanent, others lasted only for a time. To the first class belongs the practice of writing double a consonant which was pronounced double (ch. ii. § 9), a practice introduced by the poet Ennius. Thus *buca* was the old spelling of *bucca.* To the second belong such changes as :—(1) writing double a long vowel (*a, e, u,* and *o*?),[1] e.g. PAASTORES, a practice favoured by the poet Accius, but soon dropped; (2) writing EI for long *i.* This practice came in about the middle of the second century B.C., when the diphthong *ei* (ch. x. § 11) had come to be pronounced like long *i,* and remained till the beginning of the Empire; (3) indicating a long vowel (*a, e, o, u*) by a stroke above, called the *apex,* e.g. PÁSTORES (first two centuries of the Empire); (4) indicating a long *i* by the tall form of the letter, e.g. MILIA. This tall form was also used to denote the *y*-sound (§ 9) and also for initial *i*; (5) in-

[1] II indicated the double *y*-sound of words like *aio, Maia,* written by Cicero *aiio, Maiia* (ch. ii. § 3).

dicating a doubled consonant by a curve above, called the *sicilicus*, e.g. oŝa (time of Augustus). Many, or most, of these practices were borrowed from Oscan[1] orthography. Another change introduced, but without much success, by the poet Accius, was borrowed from Greek, viz. the use of *g* for *n* before *g*, *c*, e.g. *aggulus*, *agcōra* (cf. Gk. ἄγκῡρα). Equally short-lived were the additions to the Roman alphabet by the Emperor Claudius, viz. ⊦ for the *ŭ*-sound of *optimus*, &c. (ch. ii. § 1); Ↄ for *ps*; ⅃ for *v* (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 14). The by-forms of E and F, which found favour with the uneducated classes, viz. ‖ (often confused on inscriptions with I) and |ˈ, are interesting, because they must have originated from writing on wood, where the scratching of horizontal lines was not easy to read.

§ 9. In their cursive script, that is to say their everyday writing, the Romans (at least in Imperial times) distinguished the *y*-sound in words like *cujus*, *jam* from the vowel in words like *pius*, *etiam*. For the *y*-sound (often called 'consonantal *i*') they used a long form of the letter *i*. This 'i longa' was often projected below the line as well as above, and from it has arisen our letter *j*.

The *w*-sound in words like *vos* they sometimes distinguished from the vowel in words like *tuos*. To express the former (often called 'consonantal *u*') they doubled the letter *u*, and from this has arisen our letter *w* ('double *u*'). They indicated, for example, Virgil's trisyllabic pronunciation ('tenwia') of the Neut. Pl. of *tenuis* by writing *tenuua*.

At the time of the invention of printing a fashion had come in of utilizing the two rival forms of the Roman letter *u*, V and U, for the distinction of the consonantal from the vocalic *u*-sound. The early printers followed this convenient fashion and printed *vos* (VOS), *tuos* (TUOS).

Nowadays many Latin books are printed without the use of a separate sign for consonantal *i* and *u* (*cuius*, *iam*, *pius*, *etiam*, *uos*, *tuos*), and editors can justly claim that in so doing they are following the practice, not merely of inscriptions during the Roman period, but also of the older Mediaeval MSS., at least those written in bookhand, as opposed to cursive script.

[1] Oscan is the name given to the language of the Samnites, who lived in Samnium and Campania. So that Campania, the birthplace of the Roman alphabet (§ 1), continued to influence Roman writing for many centuries.

CHAPTER II

PRONUNCIATION, ACCENTUATION, AND CHANGE OF SOUND

§ 1. **Vowels.** The rule for the pronunciation of the Latin Vowels is simple enough. *Give the vowels the same sound as in Italian, letting the long vowels have what is called the 'close' sound, the short vowels the 'open'.* The 'open' sound is precisely what is given to short vowels in English; e. g. the *e* of 'led' is open *e*, and Latin *sĕd* should be pronounced with exactly the same vowel; the *o* of 'not' is open *o*, and so was the *o* of Lat. *nŏta*. The short Latin vowels accordingly offer little difficulty to English lips. But though the 'close' sound is in English, as it was in Latin, associated with the long vowels, our long vowels, e. g. the long *e*-vowel[1] in 'they', 'say', 'fate', 'fail', the long *o*-vowel in 'know', 'no', are really not simple vowels but diphthongs; for 'they', 'say', 'fate', 'fail', are in reality pronounced with the close *e*-sound followed by *y*, 'know', 'no', with the close *o*-sound, followed by *w*. So, if we would pronounce the long vowels of Latin with exactness, we must take care to give them the simple sounds of the French or Italian vowels, pronouncing, for example, the *ē* of *sē-dēs* like the

[1] By the '*e*-vowel' is meant the Continental *e*-vowel, the sound of Germ. 'See' (cf. Engl. 'say'), not of Engl. 'see', which has rather the '*i*-vowel' (Germ. 'sie', Fr. 'si'); by the '*a*-vowel' the Continental *a*-vowel of Germ. 'sah', Engl. 'father', not of Engl. 'say'.

e-sound of Fr. 'été', and not like the *ĕy-* or *ĕi*-sound of Engl. 'say'.

Latin *a* had however the same quality, when long and when short, the only difference being in quantity. The *a* of *păter* is the same sound as the *a* of *māter*, only uttered more rapidly. Here too, if we aim at exactness, we must not give the short Latin *a* the same sound as our 'short *a*-vowel', though we may give the long Latin *a* the sound of our *a* in 'father'. For our 'short *a*' is really a different sound from our 'long *a*', standing in fact halfway between an *ă* and an *ĕ*, as we see, if we compare our pronunciation of words like 'man', 'hat' with the German of 'Mann', 'er hat'. The German vowel is the same as the *a* of Engl. 'father' or Germ. 'Vater', while our 'man', 'hat', 'bat' have in them something of the sound of 'men', 'bet'. Latin *păter* then should not be pronounced like our 'patter',[1] but with the *a*-sound of 'father' rapidly uttered.

Another exception to this rule of the different quality of long and short Latin vowels is furnished by the *-it* of the 3 Sg. Pres. Ind. of the Fourth Conjugation. This *i* was a long vowel till the second century B.C., when it was shortened owing to the difficulty found by the Romans in keeping up the long sound of a vowel before a final *-t* (§ 16). But this *-it*, when it became a short syllable, retained the quality, though not the quantity, of long *i*, so that the *-it* of, let us say *prodit*,

[1] This was a Roman 'cockneyism' of the fourth or fifth cent. A.D., for we hear of a mispronunciation at that time by the lower classes at Rome of *stātim* so that it sounded like *stĕtim*.

from *prodeo*, or *vincit* from *vincio*, or *condit* from *condio*, had the close *i*-sound (Fr. si, Ital. si), unlike the *-it* of *prodit, vincit, condit* from *prodo, vinco, condo*, which had the open *i*-sound of our 'it', 'bit'. And it is probable that some other short Latin vowels also, which were originally long, continued to retain the close sound of the long vowel (see § 16). In *dies*, where it stood before a vowel, *ĭ* had the close sound, like our sound of 'the' before an initial vowel.

The short *i* of *optimus*, which took the place of *u* in the spelling of Julius Caesar's time, had a sound 'between *u* and *i*', the sound of German modified *u* (written *ü*) or the *u* of Fr. lune; and a preceding *v* seems to have given any short *i* this sound in the time of the Empire, e.g. *vĭr, vĭrgo, vĭrtus*.[1]

Here is a scheme of the pronunciation of the Latin vowels:—

Ā Engl. *a* in 'father', 'path'.
Ă the same more rapidly uttered, Engl. *a* in 'grandfather', 'footpath'.
Ē Fr. *é* in 'été'.
Ĕ Engl. *e* in 'led', 'wet'.
Ī Fr. *i* of 'fini'.
Ĭ Engl. *ĭ* of 'in', 'finish'.

[1] The sound of a Latin vowel was often affected by a neighbouring consonant. Thus *jājunus*, the older form, became *jejunus*, the *a* having assumed the sound of *e* (open *e*) under the influence of the repeated *j* (cf. Vulg. Lat. *Jenuarius* for *Januarius*, Ital. Gennaio, with open *e*); *o* took the close sound (a sound approaching to *u*) before *rn* and other consonant-groups, such as *nd* (cf. the spellings *turnus* for *tornus*, *frundes* for *frondes*); *e* took the close sound (a sound approaching to *i*) before *rg* (cf. the spelling *Virgilius* for *Vergilius*).

Ō Fr. *au* in 'chaud'.

Ŏ Engl. *o* in 'not'.

Ū Germ. *u* in 'gut'. (Plautus compares the repetition of the pron. *tu* to the hooting of an owl.[1] The *y*-sound which we insert before *u* in 'tune', &c. was unknown in Latin.)

Ŭ Engl.[2] *u* in 'pull', *oo* in 'wood'. (What we often call 'short *u*', e.g. the vowel-sound in 'but', is not a *u*-sound at all, but is properly called 'the obscure vowel'.)

Care should be taken to give long vowels their correct sound, both as regards quantity and quality, in whatever position they stand in the word. Thus the *i* of *nōbĭs* must be pronounced with the same length and with the same close sound as the *i* of *sī*; the *e* of *lēx* must be the same as the *e* of *lēgis*; *illĕx*, 'lawless', must be pronounced differently from *illĕx*, 'alluring'; *nōn* must have the *o*-sound of *nōnus*; *bĕllus* and *stēlla* should differ as Ital. 'bello', which has open *e*, and 'stella', which has close *e*, and this close *e* should be pronounced long; similarly *mŏllis* and *corōlla* (from *corōna*), and so on. The long sound was always given to a vowel before *ns, nf*. Thus the preposition *ĭn*, pronounced like our 'in', became *īn-* (more like our 'e'en') in compounds like *inficio, insilio*; *cŏn-* (Engl. 'con') became *cōn-* (more like Engl. 'cone') in *consul*, &c.; and the *n* eventually disappeared in pronunciation, as it disappeared in O. Engl. fīf, 'five' (Germ. fünf), gōs, 'goose' (Germ. Gans).

[1] See the story in Hardy's novel, told in § 3*n*.

[2] Engl. 'pool', 'wooed' approach to the Latin ū.

It will be found that the rhythm of Latin poetry will be much improved by giving the Latin vowels their proper sounds, instead of the English sounds, as we may see, if we reflect how a French or Italian line would suffer if we were to pronounce the vowels in it like English vowels. But the full appreciation of Latin poetical rhythm can only be attained, when we learn to assign the proper difference of duration to the long and short vowels, by dwelling, for example, on the first syllable of *māter* double the time that the voice rests on the first syllable of *păter*.

§ **2. Diphthongs.** The rule for the pronunciation of Latin Diphthongs is often stated thus:—*Give both vowels of the diphthong their own vowel-sounds, and combine the two sounds in one syllable.* And this is true in many cases. Thus the diphthong of *neu*, the shortened form of *nĕ-vĕ*, combines in one syllable the *e*-sound and the *u*-sound: *ain* (a monosyllable) of *ain vero?* may have had the *a*-sound and the *i*-sound of disyllabic *ais* in close combination.

But this rule overlooks the fact that the first vowel of a Latin diphthong was usually affected, coloured, attracted by the second vowel, in much the same way as the vowel *ā* of *jājunus* (p. 11 *n.*) was modified by the influence of the two neighbouring *j*'s and became *ē*, *jējunus*. When the Gen. Sing. *terrāi* (3 syllables) first became *terrae*, this *ae* would, no doubt, have the pure sound of *a* followed by the *e*-sound. But in course of time the *a* was tinged by its neighbouring *e*, and in the age of Cicero *ae* must have sounded more like a long open *e* (something like our

Interjection 'eh' protracted or rather doubled). For 'scaeptrum',[1] 'scaena' were approved by purists as the most exact rendering of Gk. σκῆπτρον, σκηνή, which would be absurd if they were pronounced 'sca-e-ptrum', 'sca-e-na'. And when the Preposition *prae* was shortened before a following vowel it came to be written *pre* in *prehendo*, a clear proof that *ae* was the long (more correctly, the diphthongal) form of ĕ (the short 'open' *e*-sound). In later times, when the quantity of vowels was confused, we find *e* persistently written for *ae*, the short sound substituted for the long. We may suppose that the first part of the Latin diphthong *ae* had the sound of our 'short *a*' in 'man', 'bat', a sound which, as has been already said, approaches the 'open' *e*-sound of the words 'men', 'bet'.

Oe, which is found in a few legal and poetic words like *foedus*, *amoenus*, as well as the Greek loan-word *poena* (ch. x. § 11), must have had its first element similarly affected, the *o* having the sound of German modified *o* (written ö), for we find *oe* sometimes used to express the long Greek *υ*, which had a sound like German modified *u*. The *a* of *au* was influenced too by the accompanying *u* in the direction of the sound of our *a* in 'water', 'wall', with the result that *au* ultimately[2]

[1] Gk. η had the 'open' *e*-sound, Latin ē the 'close'; similarly with Gk. ω and Latin ō.

[2] The pronunciation of *ae* as *e* (open *e*) and of *au* as *o* (open *o*) was a feature of country dialects (cf. *plostrum*, *olla*) much earlier. In the latter part of the second century B. C. Lucilius laughed out of fashion a 'simplified spelling' of *Caecilius*: 'Cecilius pretor' ne rusticu' fiat. Cicero himself in his letters often uses the more homely spellings with *o*, e.g. *loreola* for *laureola*, and his rival Clodius was the first of

reached the sound of long *o* (open *o*). The first element in all these diphthongs was affected by the second.

Scheme of Latin Diphthongs.

AE Pronounce with the vowel of 'man' (not of 'path', 'footpath') rapidly followed by the *e*-vowel.

AU Pronounce with the vowel of 'water' (not of 'path', 'footpath') rapidly followed by the *u*-vowel.

EU as in Ital. 'neutro' (*e* followed by *u*).

OE Pronounce with Germ. *ö* rapidly followed by the *e*-vowel.

UI Pronounce with Germ. *ü* rapidly followed by the *i*-vowel. *Hui* expressed a whistle of astonishment.

§ 3. **Consonants.** The Latin Consonants do not offer much difficulty. We may give *b*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *g*, *c*, the English pronunciation, being careful however always to give the two last the 'hard' sound which we are in the habit of giving to Greek γ and κ, and never the 'soft' (palatalized) sound, which the letters have in English words before vowels like *e*, *i*. We must pronounce the *c* of *civitas*, as of *cavitas*, and the *g* of *agito*, as of *ago*, like

the gens to change the name *Claudius* to its plebeian form *Clodius*, with the view of conciliating the mob. There is a story of Vespasian being reproved by a certain Florus for using the pronunciation *plostrum* and turning the tables on his critic by addressing him as 'Flaurus'. The word *Florus* would be pronounced with 'close' *ō*, *plostrum* with open *ŏ*, so that the Emperor's retort would not satisfy a phonetician. We may however gather from the story that Latin *au* was still a diphthongal sound in correct pronunciation at the close of the first century A.D.

the *c* of our 'cavity' and the *g* of our 'ago', not like the *c* of our 'city' and the *g* of our 'agitate', 'age'.

V had the sound of our *w*, *j* the sound of our *y*; and if we give these letters their proper sound, we shall not have much difficulty in seeing the etymological relation of *nĕ-ve* and *neu* (with the final *ĕ* dropt, § 12), *căv-vĭ-tum* and *cautum*, *jam* and *ĕtĭam*, &c., nor in understanding how the caw of a crow [1] could be mistaken for a cry of *ăvĕ*, *ăvĕ* (Phaedrus). Between vowels [2] *j* was doubled in pronunciation; *ejus*, for example, was pronounced '*ĕy-yus*' (with open *e*), and was often written EIIVS (p. 7 *n.*). *R*, called the 'littera canina', because its sound resembled the growl of a dog (cf. *hirrio*, to growl), must be given the trilled sound of French and Italian *r*.

Final *m* should not be sounded, but the preceding vowel should be pronounced as a nasal vowel, so that, e. g., *-om* will sound like Fr. 'on'. In poetry when the next word begins with a vowel the *a* of, e. g., *illam igitur* is elided like the *a* of *illa igitur*, the only difference being that the *a* of *illam* is nasal. And that this was not a mere poetical convention, but the actual pronunciation we learn from *animadverto* for *anim(um) adverto* (cf. *magnŏpere*, *tantŏpere* for *magno opere*, *tanto opere*, &c.). A Roman could pun on *Domitius* and *domum itio*, 'home-

[1] Phaedrus' story is like Hardy's in 'Far from the Madding Crowd': A owl in a tree happened to be crying 'Whoo-whoo-whoo!' . . . and Joseph, all in a tremble, said 'Joseph Poorgrass of Weatherbury, sir.'

[2] *V* was often dropped between vowels, especially similar vowels; e.g. *lăvābrum* (the old form) became *lābrum*, a bath, *si vis* became *sis*, 'if you please'. Cf. our 'Hawarden' pronounced with loss of *w*.

going'. Before *g* the letter *n* (as in *angulus*) had the same sound as our *n* in 'angle'. *S* must always have the 'hard' sound that it has in our noun 'use', never the 'soft' sound of our verb 'to use'; so pronounce *usus* like our noun, not like our verb.

Scheme of Latin Consonants.

B as Engl.
C as Engl. *k*.
D as Engl.
F as Engl.
G as Engl. *g* in 'ago', not as *g* in 'age'.
H as Engl.
J as Engl. *y*.
K as Engl.
L as Engl.
M as Engl., but when final Lat. *-m* should be dropped and a nasal pronunciation given to the preceding vowel, e. g. Lat. *-om* like Fr. on.
N as Engl.
P as Engl.
Q as Engl.
R as Scotch or Continental *r*, stronger than *r* in 'opera'.
S as Engl. *s* of the noun 'use', never as *s* of the verb 'use'.
T as Engl.
V as Engl. *w*.
X as Engl.

§ 4. **Greek Letters.** To these we may add the Greek

letters, *y, z, th, ph, ch*, which, as we have seen, occur only in Greek loan-words (ch. i. § 6). *Y* (Greek Upsilon) had the same modified *u*-sound as the *i* of *optimus*; *z* had the soft *s*-sound of our verb 'to use'; *th, ph, ch*, were pronounced as in our 'ant-heap', 'up-hill', 'ink-horn'.

§ 5. **The Pronunciation of V.** The use of the sign *v*, which suggests to those who pronounce Latin words as if they were English words a sound like that of Engl. *v* for Lat. *vos*, &c., is not ancient. *V* and *u* were not distinguished in Latin inscriptions or early MSS., the discrimination in MSS. of the capital form V for consonantal *u*, and of the Uncial (also Minuscule and Cursive) form U for vocalic *u* being of a late date (ch. 1. § 9). The sound of our *v* (labiodental) is indeed the sound to which Latin *v* (bilabial) ultimately developed (e.g. Ital. 'vostro', from Lat. *voster*, has our *v*-sound, as Ital. 'giurare', from Lat. *jurare*, our *j*-sound) and the change probably began with initial *v*; but whether Cicero's preference of *con-* to *com-* in compounds like *convocat, convalescit*, can be taken as evidence that *vocat, valescit*, had already in his time a labiodental sound is very doubtful. Intervocalic *v* certainly retained its bilabial sound till much later, as we see from mispronunciations of the Empire like *paimentum* for *pavimentum*.[1] *B*, which from a bilabial mute (our *b*) had between vowels become a bilabial spirant (our *w*), is regularly used for intervocalic *v* in the third century A.D., and it was probably not till the fifth century that Latin *v* came to be sounded like our *v*. After *r*, the bilabial spirant *v* came in Imperial Latin to be sounded like the bilabial mute *b*, whence spellings like *corbus* (Fr. corbeau for *corvus*, and the classical *ferbui*, Perf. of *ferveo*. On Latin *j* see § 7.

§ 6. **The Pronunciation of H, TH, PH, CH.** Greek *θ, φ, χ* had been in loan-words expressed by *t, p, c* in the Latin of the Republic. Plautus puns on *Chrysălus* (*Crusalus*) and *crucisalus*, from *crux* and *salio* (*Bacch.* 362), on *Charīnus* (*Carinus*) and *carēo* (*Pseud.* 736), on *Thălem* Acc. (*Talem*) and *talentum* (*Capt.* 274). We find also *b* for *φ* in old spellings like Ennius' *Bruges* for *Φρύγες*, and in *ballaena* for *φάλλαινα*, a whale; and the Vulgar Greek pronunciation of *χ* as *k-kh*, has left traces of itself in the conversational Latin of Plautus

[1] There was at all times a tendency to drop *v* before the accent. The conversational form of *avunculus* in Plautus' time was *auunculus* (cf. French 'oncle'), a trisyllable.

(*Acc(h)erunx* for Ἀχέρων), and in the form admitted into classical usage, *bracc(h)ium* from βραχίων. But at the time of Cicero, when the Greek study of Phonetics was introduced into Rome by Tyrannio, the teacher of Cicero's friend Atticus, it was felt necessary to express the Greek Aspirates more accurately by *th*, *ph*, *ch*; and this pronunciation was carefully followed in polite circles. The struggle to attain the new shibboleth of fashion led to ludicrous misapplications of the *h*-sound by the uneducated classes, which have been satirized by Catullus in his famous epigram on Arrius (84) :—

> 'Chommoda' dicebat, siquando commoda vellet
> dicere, et 'hinsidias' Arrius insidias.

Nigidius, a Grammarian of Cicero's time, emphasized the importance of correctness in the use of the letter *h*: rusticus fit sermo si adspires perperam; and the dropping of *h* seems to have been even in the time of St. Augustine an unpardonable breach of manners (*Confess.* 1. 18 : si contra disciplinam grammaticam sine adspiratione primae syllabae 'ominem' dixerit, displiceat magis hominibus, quam si contra tua praecepta hominem oderit, cum sit 'homo'). Cicero (*Orator* 48. 160) tells us that he was forced in spite of his convictions to yield so far to popular usage as to pronounce *pulcher*, *Cethegus*, *triumphus*, *Karthago*, though he still adhered to *Orcivius*, *Mato*, *Oto*, *Caepio*, *sepulcrum*, *corona*, *lacrima*. Quintilian (i. 5. 20) says: diu deinde servatum ne consonantibus [veteres] adspirarent, ut in 'Graccis' et in 'triumpis'. Erupit brevi tempore nimius usus, ut 'choronae', 'chenturiones', 'praechones' adhuc quibusdam in inscriptionibus maneant, qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est. By the fifth century A. D. φ had become a spirant, differing from Lat. *f* only in being bilabial, while *f* was labiodental;[1] and from this time onward *f* is the normal equivalent of φ in Greek loan-words, e. g. *strofa* (Gk. στροφή); cf. Ital. filosofia, &c. The difference between the two sounds in Cicero's time is seen from Quintilian's story of Cicero ridiculing a Greek witness who could not pronounce the first letter of the name Fundanius (Quint. i. 4. 14).

Between vowels the omission of *h* was sanctioned by current usage in a number of words, such as *nēmo* (for **nē-hēmo*), *debeo* (*dehibeo*), *praebeo* (*prachibeo*), *praeda* (for **prae-hēda*, from *prehendo*). By the first century A. D. *prendo* and *nil* had established themselves

[1] Latin *f* was originally bilabial, but became labiodental in the last centuries of the Republic. Its bilabial character is seen from old spellings like *im fronte*, *comfluont* (class. *confluunt*).

in current usage, also *deprendo*, though *reprehensus* was heard as well as *reprensus*. *Vehemens* seems merely to be a fashion of spelling *vēmens* (from *vē-* and *mens*).

§ 7. **The Pronunciation of TI, CI, &c.** The same wave of Syncope that passed over later Latin, reducing *vetulus* to *vetlus* (cf. Ital. vecchio), &c. (§ 13), made 'Tityus' out of *Tītius*, 'hodye' out of *hodie*, 'uncya' out of *uncia*, &c. Through this combination of our *y*-sound with a preceding consonant in unaccented syllables, a new series of sounds, unknown in Latin, has arisen in Romance. Latin *sīmia*, a monkey, has become Fr. singe (through 'simya'), Lat. *ăpium*, parsley, Fr. ache (through 'apyum'), Lat. *răbies* (*-bia*) Fr. rage (through 'rabya'), Lat. *cambiare*, Fr. changer (through 'cambyare'). *Dy* became identified with *gi*, *ge*, and Latin *j* (our y), and has assumed in Italian the sound of our *j*, e. g. Ital. giorno from Lat. *diurnus*, whence our 'journal'; while *ty* has developed in Italian into the sound of *ts*, a sound reduced in French to an *s*-sound, in Spanish to a sound like our *th* in 'thin' (written in Spanish *z*), e. g. Ital. piazza, Fr. place, Span. plaza, all from Lat. *platĕa* through 'platya'. The grammarians of the later Empire have fortunately left us a good many remarks on this change of sound, so that we can trace pretty clearly the course of its development in Latin. The palatalization of *t* seems from their account to have begun in the fourth cent. A. D., and to have been fairly established by the fifth. About the same time *cy* became assibilated; and so confusions of *-ci-* and *-ti-* before a vowel are common in late inscriptions and in MSS. (§ 10).

The palatalization of *c* before *e*, *i*, e. g. *decem*, was much later than the palatalization of *cy*, e. g. *decies*, certainly not before the sixth or seventh centuries A. D. For no grammarian hints at a difference of sound in *c* before a broad and before a narrow vowel, although the assibilation of *ti*, *ci*, before a vowel is mentioned again and again. Greek transcriptions of Latin words with *c* invariably reproduce it by K, in cases like ΚΗΝΣΟΝ for *censum*, ΚΡΗΣΚΗΝΣ for *Crescens*; Latin loan-words in Welsh (first to fifth centuries) show that Latin *c* was hard in all positions, e. g. Welsh cwyr (Lat. *cera*), ciwdawd (Lat. *cīvĭtatem*), and similarly German Keller (Lat. *cellarium*), Kiste (Lat. *cista*), &c.; it is not till the seventh century that spellings like *paze* for *pace* assert themselves on inscriptions. *G* before *e*, *i* may have assumed the sound *y* at a somewhat earlier period. But the dropping of *g* between two vowels in late spellings like *vinti* for *viginti* (the precursor of Ital. venti), *trienta* for *triginta*, cannot be dissociated from spellings like *frualitas* for *frugalĭtas*, where it is dropt before a broad

vowel, and points merely to intervocalic *g* having become, when pretonic, a spirant, like *g* of German Tage, just as intervocalic *b* became a *w*-sound in the third cent. A. D. (§ 5).

§ 8. **The Pronunciation of L, R.** The Latin writers on Grammar tell us that *l* had a 'pinguis' or 'plenus sonus' in two cases, (1) when it ended a word or when it was followed by another consonant, e.g. *sol, silva, albus*, (2) in combinations like *fl, cl*, e.g. *flāvus, clārus*; and an 'exilis' or 'tenuis sonus', (1) at the beginning of a word, e.g. *lectus, lana, lupus*, and especially (2) double *l*, e.g. *ille, Metellus, Catullus*. The development of Lat. *l* in the Romance languages points to post-consonantal *l* having been pronounced with what phoneticians call an 'off-glide', e.g. *cl'arus* (Ital. chiaro from clyaro), and pre-consonantal *l* with an 'on-glide', e.g *a'lter* (Fr. autre from aultre). I.-Eur. *ĕ* in Latin became *o* before *l*, e.g. *volo*, but remained before *ll* and before *l* followed by the vowels *e* or *i*, e.g. *velle, velim*, which points to *ll, le, li*, having had more the palatal *l*-sound. So in Spanish the sound known as 'l mouillée' is given to Latin *ll*, e.g. caballo, 'a horse', the sound given by Italian to Lat. *li* before a vowel (*ly*), e.g. miglia (cf. our 'million'), bigliardo (our 'billiards').

Metathesis of *r* (and *l*) was as common in bad Latin as in bad English, and mispronunciations of the kind are often censured by the Latin Grammarians. We have in Plautus e.g. *Phyrgio* (*Aul.* 508) for *Phrygio*, *corcotarii* (*Aud.* 521) for *crocotarii*. *Colurnus* is the Adjective from *cŏrŭlus*, a hazel.

At the end of the third century B.C. the (dialectal ?) substitution of *l* for *d* found its way into the literary language in a few words, where it seemed to be sanctioned by etymology. *Dingua* (cf. Engl. 'tongue') became *lingua* (by analogy of *lingo*, I lick), *dacruma* (cf. Gk. *δάκρυ*) became *lacruma* (by analogy of *lacer*?), *dautia*, the entertainment of ambassadors, became *lautia* (by analogy of *lautus*), **odeo* (cf. Gk. *ὄζω*) became *oleo*.

Another temporary pronunciation, which did not however leave a permanent mark on the language, was the substitution of an *r*-sound for *d* before *f* and *v* about the same period. This is seen in old spellings like *arvena* for *advĕna*, *arfari* for *adfari*, and is preserved in the legal formula *scribendo adfuerunt* (written SCR. ARF.).

§ 9. **Syllable-Division.** A caution too must be given about the pronunciation of Latin Syllables, which should follow the Italian more than the English fashion.

Each syllable should be pronounced distinctly, with its due share of utterance; it should never end in a consonant, if the consonant can be pronounced at the beginning of the next syllable. And double consonants must be pronounced double, as in Italian, with one at the end of the first syllable and the other at the beginning of the second. So pronounce *pro-fu-gus*, not 'prof'gus', *be-ne*, not 'ben-e', *bucca* and *penna* like our 'book-case', 'penknife', and so on.[1] Scansions like *ăgri* and *āgri* (from *ăger*, a field) seem to indicate two pronunciations of mute with liquid, either *a-gri* (making an iambus) or *ag-ri* (making a spondee). But other explanations of this difference of scansion are possible.

Double *s* and double *l* passed in certain circumstances into the lengthened sound, hardly distinguishable in the case of these consonants from the repeated sound, and were reduced to single *s* and single *l*; *ss*, after a diphthong or long vowel, *ll*, after a diphthong. Thus *caussa*, *glōssa*, 'a difficult word', or 'the explanation of a difficult word' (Gk γλῶσσα), *formossus*, *paullum*, the spellings of Cicero's time, became at the beginning of the Imperial Age *causa*, *glosa*, *formosus*, *paulum*. So with *ll* between long *i* and another *i*, e. g. *milia*, Plur. of *mīlle*, *vilicus*, a farm bailiff, from *vīlla*, and with *nn* in *cōnubium*, *cōnecto*, *cōnitor* for *cŏnnubium*, &c.

A double consonant at the end of a word is not found in Latin. Thus we have *miles* for **miless* from the stem *milĭt-* with the Nom. Sg. suffix *-s* (ch. iii. § 8); *es*, thou

[1] A mispronunciation like 'jusit' for *jussit*, 'ile' for *ille* was, we are told, one to which the Greeks were especially liable.

art, for **ess* from the root ĕs-, to be, with the 2 Sg. suffix *-s* (ch. vi. § 19); *hoc* for **hocc* (cf. *hoc-ci-ne*) from the Neut. Pron. **hŏd* with the particle *c(e)* (ch. v. § 3). Before a word beginning with a consonant these would at all times have their double *s*, *c* reduced to single *s*, *c*, and this pronunciation gradually came into fashion before a vowel also. But in the time of Plautus we find the last syllable of such words always a long syllable, and even in the classical time *hoc* (and after its example *hic*, ch. v. § 3) is found as a syllable long by position, pronounced, though not spelt, *hocc* before an initial vowel, with short *o* and double *c*.

'Doublet'-forms like these, *ĕs* before an initial consonant, **ĕss* before an initial vowel (cf. our 'a' before a consonant, 'an' before a vowel) are common in Latin. On *ac* (for **atc*) and *atque*, *nec* and *neque*, *proin* and *proinde*, see § 12. Final *d*, which was at an early period dropt in pronunciation after a long vowel, passed through this 'doublet' stage, the *d*-less forms having been originally confined to cases when an initial consonant followed. In the time of Plautus the only relics of *-d* after a long vowel are the monosyllables *mēd*, *tēd*, *sēd* (not used by Plaut.), *haud*. They have the *d*-less form before a consonant, e.g. *mē tamen*, *hau scio*, and the first three often before a vowel too, e.g. *me enim* as well as *med enim*. By the classical time the *d*-less forms, *me*, *te*, *se*, have driven the *d*-forms off the field, but the form *haud* continued to assert itself.

§ 10. **Orthography.** Latin spelling was phonetic, representing the actual sounds uttered in pronouncing the word, the cases where a spelling was due to Gram-

marians' theories being few and exceptional. Such a 'grammarians' spelling' was the *bs* of *urbs*, which was pronounced (and often spelt) *ps*, it being impossible to pronounce *b* along with the Latin *s*, which had the hard (unvoiced) sound of our noun 'use' (§ 3). The spelling with *b* is due to the analogy of the Gen., Dat., &c., *urbis*, *urbi*. A variety of spelling may generally be taken to represent a variety of pronunciation. For example spellings like *hospicium* for *hospitium* (from *hospes*, *-itis*), *concio* for *contio* (from *co(n)uentio*), *nuncius* for *nuntius* (from *nŏventius*) are spellings not earlier[1] than the fifth cent. A.D., when *ti* and *ci* had both, before a vowel, come to be sounded with an *s*-sound (§ 7); spellings like *hereo* for *haereo* are later than the fourth cent. A.D., by which time *ae* and *e* (open *e*) had become indistinguishable in pronunciation (§ 2): spellings like *autor* for *auctor* are also late and point to the pronunciation of *ct* as *tt* (cf. Ital. otto from Lat. *octo*). On the other hand *optumus*, *maxumus*, &c., are early spellings, before the time of Augustus (see § 1); so are the double-consonant forms, *caussa*, *formossus*, &c. (see § 9); *equos*, &c., *loquontur*, &c., are the oldest spellings, then *ecus*, *locuntur*, then in Trajan's time *equus*, *loquuntur* (see p. 36). The uncertainty about the pronunciation of *h* (§ 6) is reflected in spellings like *arena* for *harena*, *olus* for *holus*, vegetable, *ariolus* for *hariolus*, a soothsayer,

[1] This is not quite true. There are earlier examples due to the habit of substituting *c* for *t* before a consonant (like our vulgar 'a cleast' for 'at least'). Just as *t* before the consonant *l* became *c* in *vectus* (Ital. vecchio) from *vet(u)lus*, so *t* before 'consonantal *i*' (our *y*) became *c* in *nuntius* (O. Lat. *noventio-*) producing the form *nuncius* (pronounced 'nuncyus').

humeo and *humidus* for *umeo* and *umidus*. Often a wrong spelling is due to a perverted etymology; thus *delīro* was written *delero*, as if connected with Gk. ληρῶ; *letum* was written *lethum* (cf. Engl. lethal) and referred to Gk. λήθη; *sĕpulcrum*, from *sĕpelio* (ch. x. § 20), was fantastically derived from *sē*, without, and *pulcer*, misspelt *pulcher*, and was written *sepulchrum* (on *pulcher*, *sylva*, &c. for *pulcer*, *silva* see ch. i. § 6; cf. Engl. 'sepulchre, 'sylvan'); *cena* appears at a very early time as *coena*, through confusion with Gk. κοινός; *comminus* (*cum* and *manus*) was wrongly written *cominus* on the analogy of *eminus*, and so on.

§ 11. **Accentuation.** The rules of the Latin Accent are so simple that it was never found necessary to indicate by accent-marks the syllable on which the accent was to fall, as was done in Greek. In Latin the quantity of the penultimate syllable regulates accentuation, as the quantity of the final in Greek. When the penultimate syllable is long, the accent rests upon it; when short, on the antepenultimate, e.g. *decŏres*, *dĕcŏres*. This is also the natural English practice. There are however a few points of difficulty. Monosyllables with a long vowel, like *flōs*, *mōs*, *rēs*, had a 'Circumflex' Accent, the voice rising first and then falling slightly, and so had long final syllables of words whose last vowel has been dropt by Apocope or Syncope, e.g. *illīc*, 'there,' from **illice*, *nostrās*, 'of our country,' from *nostrātis* (Plaut.), *audĭt* for *audivit*, *addūc* for *addūce*, while monosyllables or apocopated finals with a naturally short vowel had the ordinary 'Acute' Accent, e.g. *nix* (*nĭvis* Gen.), *pars*, *illinc* from

**illim-ce.* Again the Voc. and Gen. Sg. in *-i* of Nouns in *-ius, -ium,* were from the beginning of the Empire, or earlier, pronounced with the accent on the paenultima, even when the paenultima was short, e. g. *Valéri, Vergíli, tugúri.* This accentuation, introduced by Latin writers on grammar under the mistaken idea that these forms were contractions of an earlier *Valérii, Vergílii, tugúrii,* &c. (ch. iii. § 6), was followed in the speech of the educated classes (cf. § 12 on *nostrás*). Further, some of the usages of what is called 'Sentence-Accentuation' must be noticed, for the accent which a word would bear, if uttered separately, may be different from the accent assigned to it, when standing with other words in a sentence. The Greek Preposition πρός, for example, had, if mentioned by itself, an acute accent. But in the sentence its accent was obscured by the Noun which it governed, e.g. πρὸς πόλιν, and this by the Greek system was expressed by replacing its acute with a grave accent. Similarly in Latin a Preposition, say *súpra,* or a Relative, say *quális,* were in sentences like *supra moenia stat, talis est qualis Cicero fuit,* united with the following word into a word-group which took the ordinary accent of a single word, *supra-moénia, qualis-Cícero.* The Adverb *supra* and the Interrogative *qualis* were not subordinated, but retained their independent accent, *súpra habitat, quális fuit Cicero?* Other words which became subordinate or enclitic in the ordinary utterance of the sentence were:—(1) the various parts of the Substantive Verb, e. g. *amátus-est* (often written by the Romans *amátust*), (2) the Personal and Possessive Pronouns,

unless specially emphasized, e.g. *ín-me, ád-me* (cf. Gk. *πρός με, πρός σε*, or our 'for him', 'with him', with the stress of the voice on 'for', 'with', unless the Pronoun is emphasized, as in 'for me, but not for thee'), *meus-dóminus, mea-dómina* (Ital. Madonna), (3) the Demonstrative Pronouns, when unemphatic, e.g. *ille-dóminus* (pronounced with Syncope of *-ĕ, ill'-dóminus*). From this unemphatic use of the Demonstrative Pronoun has sprung the Romance Definite Article, e.g. Ital. 'il padre', Span. 'el padre', (4) Conjunctions like *et, sed*, (5) Auxiliary Verbs, such as *volo* in *volo-scíre, cave* in *cave-fácias*. Such Auxiliaries have in the languages derived from Latin been reduced to mere Tense-signs, e.g. Fr. 'j'aimerai' from Lat. *amare-ha(be)o*, 'j'ai fait' from Lat. *ha(be)o-factum*. The subordination of many of these words was indicated by the Roman way of writing; the Preposition was often written along with its Noun in one word, just as it was along with its Verb in a Compound Verb, *incúrrum*, like *incúrro* (cf. *imprímis, óbviam, ádmodum, dénuo*, for *de novo*, § 15), while Auxiliaries like *lubet, volo*, were in certain cases similarly treated, e.g., *quólibet, quámvis, quantúmvis*. And spellings like *quomodo, quare, postridie* (for *posteri die*), *decemviri* show that these Nouns, *modus, res, dies, vir*, were subordinated in Latin speech, just as in English 'thing', 'kind', 'part', &c., are used without stress in phrases like 'something (nothing) of that kind', 'some parts of England'. The Enclitics *-que, -ve* are examples of I.-Eur. Enclitics (cf. Gk. *τε*, **Fε* in *ἠ-ὲ* from **ἦ-Fε*).

We saw above (§ 9) that the Latin pronunciation, like

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modern Italian, gave each syllable its due share of utterance, while the English slurs the unaccented syllables, and so has, for example, reduced 'fantasy' to 'fancy' and has given 'minute' (Lat. *minūtum*) the sound of 'mĭnĭt'. But this difference between Latin and English is not more than one of degree. For the Latin Accent was like ours a stress-accent; at all events it was an accent mainly of stress, though this stress was probably accompanied by a slightly higher tone than the tone of the unstressed syllables. And like all languages with stress-accent Latin had, though not to the same extent as English, the tendency to weaken the unstressed syllable, a tendency still seen in its modern representative, the Italian language (cf. Ital. 'gridare' from Lat. *quĭritare* 'to shout', 'shout for protection', 'balsimo' from Lat. *balsămum*, 'albero' from *arbŏrem*). The Latin stress-accent left traces of itself at all periods of the language in the Syncope, the Weakening, and the Shortening of unaccented vowels, three processes which have so materially altered the appearance of the language that they must be treated in detail in separate paragraphs.

§ 12. **Syncope of Unaccented Vowels.** For a century or two before the literary period the law of accentuation which was mentioned in the last paragraph, the 'Paenultima Law', as it is called, did not prevail. Every word was at that time accented on the first syllable. Long words had, of course, as they had at all periods of the language, a secondary accent as well as the main accent,[1]

[1] Cf. any English long word, say 'chàracteristical', which has the main accent (´) on the antepenultimate, the secondary (`) on the first syllable.

but in them, as well as in shorter words, the main accent rested on the first syllable. The change to the Paenultima Law of Accentuation began in these long words with the substitution of the main accent for the secondary, the secondary for the main; e.g. *témpestàtibus* became *tèmpestátibus*, *élemèntum* became *èleméntum* (like our 'èleméntal'). The change to the Paenultima Law was not wholly completed at the beginning of the literary period, for the accent was still on the first syllable of words like *fácilius*, *báliněum* (later *balneum*), that is to say words of the scansion ∪ ∪ ∪ ≚, in the time of Plautus. Instances of Syncope under the Early Accent Law are: (1) of Prepositions in Compounds, e.g. *anculus*, an old word for 'servant' (whence *ancilla*), for **ambi-quolus* (Gk. *ἀμφί-πολος*). By Syncope of this kind the old Preposition *ambĭ* was reduced to *am-* in Compounds; similarly the old Preposition *endŏ*, *indŏ*, or *indŭ* was reduced to *ind-*, *in-*, and became confused with the Preposition *in*; e.g. *induperator* came to be pronounced as *imperator*, *indugredi* as *ingredi*; (2) of the second syllable of the first member of a Compound, e.g. *hospes* for **hostĭ-pet-s*, from *hostis* in its old sense of 'a stranger'; *princeps* for **prīmĭ-ceps*; *forceps*, the smith's tongs, for **formĭ-ceps* from *formus*, hot, connected with Greek *θερμός* (ch. x. § 18); *quindecim* from *quīnque* and *decem*; *undecim*, from *ūnus* and *decem*; *vindemia*, vintage, for **vīnĭ-dēmia*, from *dēmo*; (3) of the first syllable of the Reduplicated Perfect of a Compound Verb, e.g. *rettuli* for *re-tetuli* (ch. vi. § 10), *repperi* for *re-peperi*, *reccĭdi* for *re-cecidi*, where the double consonant preserves a trace of the Syncope.

When a short vowel following *r* was syncopated, the pronunciation of *r* without a vowel (as in the final syllable of Fr. 'sacre', &c.) led to the form *er*. Thus **sacrŏ-dos*, **sacrĭ-dos* became *sacerdōs*; **sacrŏ-lom* became **sacerlom*, *sacellum*. Similarly *-lĭ-* appears in the syllable after the accent as *ŭl* (older *ŏl*) in *facultas*, &c. A syllable like *rĭ*, *rĕ* became after Syncope *u* in *autŭmo* for **ăvĭ-tumo* (cf. Gk. *οἴω* for *ὀϝ-ιω*), *auceps* for **ăvĭ-ceps*. But forms like *lābrum* for the older *lăvābrum*, *audissem* for *audivissem*, and the like, are not due to Syncope, but to the habit of dropping *v* in pronunciation between two vowels, especially similar vowels (§ 3 *n.*). Nor should we refer to Syncope such a change as *dixti* for *dixisti*, *misse* for *mississe*, *debilitare* for *debilitatare*, *idolatria* for *idololatria*, where, owing to the unpleasant effect of two neighbouring syllables having the same sound, one has been suppressed (ch. x. § 20). *Saeclum* is not a syncopated form of *saeculum*, for *saeclum* is the older, while in *saeculum* a vowel has been inserted between the *c* and the *l* to aid pronunciation, like the parasitic *ŭ* of *mina*, a Greek loan-word, *μνᾶ*, with which we may compare Fr. 'canif', a German loan-word, 'Knif', or the parasitic *u* of *Tecumessa* (*Τέκμησσα*), for which *Tecmessa* was first used in Cicero's time.[1] On this ending *-culus*, *-culum*, and *-clus*, *-clum*, see ch. xi. § 9.

Later instances of Syncope, after the time when the Paenultima Law had come in, are *calfacio*, for *calĕ-facio*, originally *calē-facio* (§ 16), *lamna*, a bar of metal, from *lammĭna* (Plaut.), *objūrgo*, to scold, from *objūrigo* (Plaut.).

[1] Other examples of the Parasitic Vowel in the early forms of Greek loan-words are the Plautine *têchana*, *drâchuma*, *Alcumena*.

Soldus (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5. 65 metuentis reddere soldum), for *sŏlĭdus*, is the form that represented the ordinary pronunciation of every-day life, and *caldus*, we are told, was the form approved by the Emperor Augustus; though it was only in a few words that Syncope after a short syllable under the Paenultima Law was admitted into the literary language, e.g. *valde*, of which the full form *vălide* is still found in Plautus.

Syncope of the final syllable was a great feature of the Oscan and other Italic languages, but not of Latin. The Oscan word for 'Campanian', for example, was *Campans*, while the Latin was *Campānus*; and Plautus mimics this Oscan pronunciation in his cruel sneer at the conquered Campanians (*Trin.* 545):

Campáns genus
Multó Surorum iam ántidit patiéntia,

'friend Campans is now far ahead of the Syrian race in endurance.' Final *-rĭs* however is syncopated in Adjs. like *acer*, Masc. of the stem *ācri-*, *-rŏs* in *ager* (Gk. *ἀγρός*), &c. (ch. iii. § 6). The Forum inscription, with its SAKROS 'sacer', belongs to a period earlier than this Syncope (see Appendix A § 1). The *-tĭs* of words like *nostrātis*, 'our countryman', of which the full forms only are known to Plautus, is usually said to have been reduced to *-(t)s* in *nostrās*, &c., by Syncope; but the new Nominative may rather be due to the analogy of a declension like *amans*, Nom., *amantis* Gen., where *-s* in the Nom. case corresponds to *-tis* in the Gen. case. A Gen. Pl. like *deum* is sometimes called a 'contracted' form of *deorum*, but most mistakenly; for *-um* (Gk. *-ων*) is an earlier suffix of the Gen. Pl. of the

Second Declension, while *-ōrum*, formed on the analogy of *-ārum* of the First Declension, was an innovation introduced about the beginning of the literary period (see ch. iii. § 6). But a final *-ĕ* (*ĭ*) was dropped in pronunciation, especially in words closely joined with the word that followed them, e.g. *nec* for *neque*, *ac* (i.e. **atc*) for *atque*, *neu* for *nēve*, *seu* for *sīve*, *quin* for *quīne* (ch. ix. § 15), *tot* for **totĭ* (cf. *tŏtĭ-dem*). Three Imperatives, which were much used in word-groups, lost their final *-ĕ* in the second century B.C., *dīc*, *dūc*, and *făc*. In Plautus the full forms are still used when there is anything of a pause after the word; cf. *Mil.* 256 dice, monstra, praecipe, and especially *Rud.* 124:

tu, sīquid opus est, dīce. Dic quod tē rogo.

(On *fer* see ch. vi. § 14.)

§ 13. Details of Latin Syncope. The conditions under which Vowel-syncope was carried out differed at different periods. A vowel between *n* and *m* was not syncopated, because the consonant-group *nm* was difficult to pronounce, e.g. *anima* not *anma*, though in the Romance development of the Latin language we find that Syncope has been pushed a stage further, e g. Old Fr. anme, alme, arme, Fr. âme, Span. alma, Ital. alma (in poetry). (So *frigidus* appears in all the Romance languages in a syncopated shape, e.g. Ital. freddo, Fr. froid, &c.). Analogy also may often prevent Syncope, or, after words have been syncopated, may restore them to their original form. Thus *porgo*, for example, was restored to *porrigo*, by the analogy of the Perfect *porrexi*; and the analogy of other Adjectives in *-ĭdus*, where this termination was preceded by some uncombinable consonant, e. g. *frīgĭdus*, may account for the existence of unsyncopated Adjectives like *calĭdus*; for the consonants in *calĭdus*, *l* and *d*, are of a kind that would easily combine. There are then two cases in which Latin vowels resisted Syncope: (1) when they stood between consonants which did not easily

combine, (2) when in whole classes of words Syncope was prevented or effaced by the analogy of unsyncopated forms. With these exceptions it seems to have been the rule in Early Latin that *ĕ*, *ŏ* in the syllable after the accent always suffered syncope, unless they were long by 'position'. This *ĕ*, *ŏ*, might be original *ĕ*, *ŏ*, or the reduced (post-tonic) form of original *ă* (*ŏ*). The Early Latin accent fell, as we have seen, on the first syllable of each word, so that every *ĕ*, *ŏ* in a second syllable, not long by position,[1] must have suffered Syncope.

The new law of accentuation, the Paenultima Law, brought with it the possibility of a new variety, namely, suppression of the syllable preceding the accent, Pretonic Syncope. It is often difficult to say whether a case of Syncope is pretonic or post-tonic. In words like *ārdere*, *ārdorem*, for example, we say that the Syncope of *ĭ* of *aridere*, *aridorem* is due to the new accent on the penult, *arīdĕre*, *arīdŏrem*; but it might possibly be referred to the influence of the old accent on the first syllable, *áridere*, *áridorem*. Forms like *artāna* (Gk. *ἀρύταινα*), *perstroma* (Gk. *περίστρωμα*), both used by Lucilius, and both borrowed no doubt after the old Accent Law had ceased to operate, are clearer cases of Pretonic Syncope. And the influence of the following accent, rather than the mere addition of extra syllables, seems to be the real factor in the Syncope in the literary period of such words as *frigdāria* (Lucil.) beside *frigidus*, *caldārius* beside *cálidus*, *portōrium* beside *pórtitor*, *postrīdie* beside *pósteri*, *altrinsecus* beside *álteri*. The unaccented *-vĭ-* of *avidus*, which resisted Syncope in the simple adjective-form, succumbed to the influence of the following accent in the lengthened Derivative **avīdere*, *audere*, to dare, properly 'to have a mind for'; cf. *si audes*, if you please (Plaut.), class. *sōdes*.

The analogy of these lengthened Derivatives, e.g. *ardere*, *ardorem*, caused or aided the Syncope of the simple Adjective, e.g. *ardus* (Lucil.). Similarly *aet-* for *aevit-* in *aetas* may have come into use first in the lengthened cases *aetātis*, *aetāti*, *aetatem*, or in Derivatives like *aeternus*. But in the literary period, as in the earlier, there was always the tendency to Syncope, and a word like *aridus* would, we may be sure, in the careless utterance of every-day speech be pronounced *ar'dus*, though circumstances might operate in preventing this form

[1] The Forum inscription, however, our oldest relic of Latin, offers IOVESTOD *justo*. In such words (cf. *monstrum* for **monestrum*) length by position did not prevent Syncope.

from being accepted in literary Latin. Quintilian (i. 6. 19) tells us that Augustus stigmatized as a piece of affectation the use of *calidus* for *caldus*: non quia id non sit latinum, sed quia sit odiosum, et, ut ipse Graeco verbo significavit, *περίεργον*, and yet a Grammarian some centuries after (Appendix Probi 198. 3. K.) puts *calda* under the same condemnation as *frigda, virdis*.

Post-tonic Syncope, under the new accent-law, seems, during the Republic and Early Empire, to occur only when the accented vowel is long, e.g. *bārca* (our 'barque'), from **bārica*, a word introduced at the time of Caesar's naval displays in the Circus, although we find it in the period of the Early Literature in words of four or more syllables where three short syllables preceded the final, e.g. *bălĭnĕum* (Plaut. and Ter.), a spelling which did not yield for some time to later *balneum*. *Opĭtumus* was apparently the form in use about the beginning of the literary period, but soon became *optumus*. These words, as we saw above (§ 12), had in the time of Plautus and Terence the accent on the first syllable, *bălĭneum* producing *balneum*, &c.[1] Similarly *opĭficina* (Plaut.), accented *ŏpĭficina*, produced *officina*; *pŭerĭtia*, accented *pŭerĭtia*, produced the *puertia* of Horace (*C.* i. 36. 8). But forms like *caldus* from *călĭdus*, *virdis* from *vĭrĭdis*, *domnus* for *dŏmĭnus*, *veclus* for *vetulus*, are a feature of colloquial or Vulgar Latin, and were not as a rule established in the language till the later Empire; though *valde*, older *vălĭde* (Plaut.), and a few other words were current at a much earlier time.

The same wave of Syncope that reduced *viridis*, *dominus*, *vetulus*, &c., to disyllabic forms attacked *u*, *i* in hiatus (before a vowel). As early as the latter half of the first century A.D. *tenuis* varied between a disyllable and a trisyllable; *cardus*, for *carduus*, a thistle, *mortus*, for *mortuus*, &c., are the precursors of the Romance forms (Ital., Span. cardo; Ital. morto, Span. muerto, Fr. mort); while the similar reduction of *i* (*e*) led to that palatalization of consonants which has so transformed the whole appearance of the Romance languages, e.g. Ital. piazza, Span. plaza, Fr. place from Vulg. Lat. **platja*, Lat. *platĕa*, &c. (see § 7).

§ 14. Weakening of Unaccented Vowels. The *ă* of *ago* remains unchanged in the simple Verb, where it has

[1] The rival forms *columen* and *culmen* are to be explained by the original Declension: *cŏlumen, cŏl(u)minis* (pronounced *culminis*), *cŏl(u)mini* (pronounced *culmini*), &c.

the accent, but in a compound like *abigo* it has by the classical period become *ĭ*. This change is not known in Greek (e.g. *ἀπάγω* like *ἄγω*), and is an effect of the Latin Stress-accent. In the period of the Early Literature we find *ĕ* instead of *ĭ*, e.g. *abego* (Plaut.), and before a labial *ŭ*, e.g. *surrupui*, *surruptus* (Plaut.) from *sub* and *rapio*; *ĕ* is the vowel still found in the classical age before *r*, e.g. *peperi* from *pario*, but *memini* from the root *men-*, or before a consonant-group, e.g. *remex* from *remus* and *ago*, *princeps* from *primus* and *capio*. Even diphthongs were changed through loss of stress, their first element being affected, *ai* became *ī* (through *ei*), *au* became *ū* (through *eu*), e.g. *occīdo* (earlier *occeido*) from *caido* (class. *caedo*), *occlūdo* from *claudo*. But not long vowels, e.g. *invādo* from *vādo*, *irrēpo* from *rēpo*, *implōro* from *plōro*. Unaccented *ŏ* became *ŭ* about the same time that *ĕ* passed in the unaccented syllable to *ĭ*; and *ŭ*, especially when an *i* followed in the next syllable, passed into *ĭ* or into that *ü*-sound which was written *ĭ* (§ 1); e.g. *exsoles* is the old Latin form of *exules*, from which comes *exilium*; *querculus* became *quercibus* (cf. *optumus* and *optimus*, § 1). But *ŏ*, when not before a Labial, remains, e.g. in Compounds like *invoco*, *advoco*, and even before a Labial when a vowel precedes, e.g. *filiolus*.[1] In the final syllable it was invariably reduced,[2] e.g. *vīcus*, older *-os*

[1] So *ĕ* remains after *i*, e.g. *ebrietas*, *societas*, *parietem*.

[2] So *ĕ* became *ĭ*, e.g. *matrĭs* Gen. from **matrĕs*, *lēgĭs* 2 Sg. from **legĕs*, *legit* 3 Sg. from **legĕt*. But as a final vowel *ĕ* took the place of *ĭ*, e.g. *mare* for **marĭ*, *triste* for **tristĭ* (ch. iii. § 8), and perhaps of any short vowel. If a consonant is added, *-ĕ* becomes *ĭ* again, e.g. *illĕ* but *illĭc* (used for *ille* in the Dramatists). Hence *sicine*, *hoccine*, &c., for *sī-c(ĕ)*,

(cf. Gk. *οἶκος*), although after *u* or *v* the spelling with *o* was long retained to avoid the awkward collocation *uu*, e.g. *vivos, divos, equos* (written *ecus* in the Augustan Age, later *equus*, § 10). In the Imperial Age the fashion of preserving in Compounds the vowel of the Simple Verb came in, so that *consacro*, for example, was now written for *consecro*, the older spelling; and at the same time the Accent was, at least in the vulgar speech, shifted from the Preposition to the Verb; e.g. *demórat* is the Vulgar Latin form of *demoratur*, whence Ital. dimóra, Fr. demeure; from *renégat*, Ital. reniega (cf. Shakespeare's 'renége').

§ 15. **Details of Latin Vowel-weakening.** These changes of short vowels and diphthongs are proper to the syllable next the accent, the weakest syllable in every language with Stress-accentuation, that is to say the second syllable of every word under the Early Accent Law (§ 12). A syllable with a secondary accent, like the paenultima of **párricaida* (so accented under this law), would not be liable to change, but often did in fact change its vowel after the analogy of kindred words, where the same vowel followed immediately on the accent, e.g. **óc-caido*; whence O. Lat. *paricidas* (ch. iii. § 4). On the other hand, the analogy of the simple word with accented root-vowel would often save the vowel of the Compound from being changed, e.g. *vades et subvades*, (XII Tab.), where the *ă* of *vades* is not weakened as it is in *praevides* (on an early inscr.), later *praedes*. And at any period in the history of the language the sense of the relation of a Compound to a simple word might lead to the restoration of a vowel to its accented quality. This 'Recomposition' was stimulated by the grammatical studies imported from Greece towards the close of the Republic, and prosecuted with zest for many centuries, so that in the period of the Early Literature, the change of unaccented vowels is more the rule than it is later, e.g. the weakening of the diphthong *ae* (*ai*) in O. Lat. forms like *consiptum, obsiptum*. The analogy of the Nominative preserved from change the vowel in

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hoc-(cĕ) with the Interrogative *-ne* added, *quippini* for *quippe* with *ni*, and the like.

the Oblique Cases of *arborem*, *fulguris*, &c., as on the other hand the analogy of the Oblique Cases has substituted *ĕ* for *i* in the Nom. *integer*; and the analogy of the Compound Verb has changed the spelling of the less used Simple Verb in *spicio*, *plico*. Compounds, too, which were made for the occasion, or were rarely employed, like O. Lat. *hosticapas*, a conqueror of the enemy (ch. iii. § 4), *urbicape* Voc. (Plaut.), would escape the change which befel a word established in use, like *prin-ceps*, *muni-ceps*. But with these exceptions the change of the short vowels and the diphthongs of the second syllable is very regular in Latin; though a very old inscription, *Manios med fefaked*[1] *Numasioi*, 'Manius me fecit Numerio', belongs to an epoch when this law was not in operation, and when Latin was less removed from the state of the other Italic languages, which do not change the unaccented vowel (cf. Umbr. *Propartio-*, Lat. *Propertius*).

The usual course taken by the weakened vowel might be altered by other Phonetic Laws. It is, for example, a Phonetic Law of Latin that *ĕ* became *ĭ* before *ng*, e.g. *tingo* from **tengo* (Gk. *τέγγω*) (ch. x. § 4). Hence we have *infringo*, *confringo*, and not **infrengo*, **confrengo*, &c., as compounds of *frango*. The same law of the influence of *i* on a preceding vowel that leaves *velim*, *velle* beside *volo*, *volt* (§ 8), gives us O. Lat. *famelia* as the earlier stage of *familia*, the Collective of *famulus*, O. Lat. **famolos*. The Latin tendency to assimilate the vowel of neighbouring syllables (cf. *monordi*, from earlier *memordi*, ch. vi. § 10) was especially antagonistic to the Law of Weakening in Compounds like *exemo*, *elego*, *neglego*, the better spellings, and explains why we have *surripio* beside *surrupui* in MSS. of Plautus, and in class. Lat. *incolumis* (*incolomis* Plaut., &c.), *monumentum* (as well as *monimentum*), *elementum*, *sepelio*, *coluber*, *segetis* Gen., *Seneca*, *tremebundus*, *alacris*, *aucupis* Gen.

Examples of the older spelling of weakened vowels are:—in medial syllables (1) *o* for *u*: on early inscriptions, *consoluerunt*, *consoleretur*, *consoltu*, *consol*, *consolibus*, *pocolom*, *conciliaboleis*, in MSS. of Plautus *exsolatum*, *incolomis*, (2) *u* for *i*: on early inscriptions, *Oinumama* ('Unimamma', an Amazon), *testumonium*, in MSS. of Plautus *maxumufice*, *sacrufícem*, *carnufex*. *Manufestus*, *dissupo*, *victuma* are the anteclassical, *manifestus*, *dissipo*, *victima*, the classical spellings, like *optumus* and *optimus* (p. 11), (3) *e* for *i*: on early inscriptions, *meretod* 'merito', *oppedeis*, 'oppidis', in MSS. of Plautus *abigit*, of Lucretius

[1] The letter *f* is written *f*H (ch. i. § 4).

accĭdo. We have in final syllables, e. g. O. Lat. *cosentiont* 'consentiunt', *dedecront*, *nequīnont* 'nequeunt', *opos*, *Venos*, *filios*, *Luciom*, *donom*, *Salutes* Gen. Sg.

Other examples of the change in classical forms are :—(1) *ĕ* before a consonant-group : *inlĕx* from O. Lat. *lacio*, I allure, *genetrix* (beside *genitor*), *obstetrix* (cf. *constituo*), *condemno* (older *condumno*) ; *expers* from *pārs* ; *perennis* from *annus* ; *incestus* from *castus* ; *fefélli* from *fallo* ; *miles* (older *miless*, § 9) from stem *milit-* ; *remex* Nom. from *ago*, (2) *ĕ* before *r* : *aequipero*, *impero*, *pauper*, all from *paro* ; *cinĕris* Gen. (beside *cinis* Nom.), (3) *ŭ*, *i* before a Labial : *incipio*, *decipio*, and other Compounds of *capio*, *surripui* (also *surpui*). *U* remains in *nuncupo*, *occupo*, *contubernium*, which seem to be old forms preserved, while the *o* of *vinolentus*, *somnolentus* (cf. *sanguinolentus*) may be due to confusion with *vino lentus*, &c., (4) *ĭ* in other short syllables : *dimidius* from *medius*, *Jupiter* (better spelt *Juppiter*) from *pater*, *sistite* (cf. Gk. ἵστατε), *compitum* 'ubi viae competunt', *dīmico* from *mico* (cf. *micto*), *in* (earlier *en*) used enclitically (§ 11). *U* has become *i* in *satira* and *satura*), *inclitus* and *inclutus*), *supercilium* (cf. Gk. *κύλα*, the part under the eyes), but remains in *tutudi*, *pecudem*, *contumax*, &c. *O* has become *u* in *venustus* from *Venus*, older *Venos*, *angustus*, *vetustus*, and the like, *alumnus* (cf. Gk. *τρεφόμενος*), *homullus* from **homon-lo-*, &c., *sum* (earlier **som*), an enclitic (§ 11).

Examples in Greek loan-words are :—*tessera* (*τέσσαρα*), *Agrigentum*, (*Ἀκράγαντα* Acc.), *Hecuba*, O. Lat. *Hecoba* (*Ἑκάβη*), *machina* (Dor. *μαχανά*), *epistula* and *epistola* (*ἐπιστολή*), *Achivi* (*Ἀχαιοί*, *oleum* (*ἔλαιον*), *trutina* (*τρυτάνη*), *talentum*, (*τάλαντον*), *phalerae* (*φάλαρα*), *balineum* (Plaut.) and *balneum* (*βαλανεῖον*).

Long Vowels, as we have seen, did not suffer change. *Delīro* is the correct form, from *līra*, a furrow, not *delĕro* (§ 10). The change of *ē* to *ī* in *delinio* (beside *delēnio*), *suspīcio* (Noun) is found also in the case of accented *ē* when the following syllable has an *i* in hiatus, e. g. *Plīnius* from *plēnus*, *fīlius*, lit. 'a suckling', from *fēlo*. *Anhēlus* (older *anhellus*) may have come from **an-hslus*, the *a* of *hālo*, from **ānslo*, having been changed to *e* while its quantity was still short. *Profestus* is a compound of *festus* (cf. *feriae*), not of *fastus*, *fas* (cf. *nefastus*).

Compounds with *per*, 'very', are Separable Compounds[1] (like *bene facio*, *ārē facio* ; cf. Luer. *facit are*), and do not change the vowel, e. g. *persalsus* (beside *insulsus*), *persapiens* (beside *insipiens*), *perfacilis*

[1] Cf. *per pol saepe peccas*, Plaut.

(beside *difficilis*), so that Lucilius was right in his objection to the use of *pertisus* by Scipio Africanus Minor:

> Quó facetiór uideare et scíre plus quam céteri,
> 'Pértisum' hominem, nón pertaesum, dícis.

Ăv, ŏv become *u*, e. g. *eluo* from *lavo*, *denuo* for *de novo*.

§ 16. **Shortening of Unaccented Vowels.** So sensitive was the Roman ear to the difference between a long and a short vowel (§ 1) that a long vowel was shortened through loss of stress in special positions only, chiefly in the final syllables of disyllabic words whose first syllable was short. In such a word as *cāvē* the Romans found themselves unable to maintain the length of the final *ē*, especially when the main stress of the voice rested on the initial syllable of the following word, e.g. in phrases like *cave-fácias* (§ 11). The name usually now given to this law of shortening of Latin Vowels is the 'Law of the Breves Breviantes', i.e. the law of the short (syllables) shortening (a following long syllable); and this law plays a great part in the prosody of the Republican Dramatists, whose verses reflect the pronunciation of every-day life, and so exhibit forms like *căvĕ-fácias, vŏlō-scíre*, as well as *vŏlŭptátem, ĕgĕstátem*, where the syllable scanned as a short syllable is long, not by nature, but by 'position'. It is this Law of Breves Breviantes which has effected the shortening of the final vowel of iambic words used in close connection with or subordination to other words, e.g. *bĕnĕ, mălĕ* (cf. *bene-fácio, male-fácio, male-sánus*), *citŏ, modŏ, mihĭ, tibĭ, sibĭ*. The finals of these words,[1] though

[1] *Bene, male* never show *ĕ*, not even in the verse of Plautus.

in poetical diction they often appear with the long quantity, were no doubt in ordinary speech by Cicero's time short or at least half-long vowels. Quintilian tells us that the *-e* of the salutation *have* (*ave*) was in his time pronounced long only by pedants,[1] and the reduction of *calē-facio* (conceivably written as two words) to *calfacio* points to an intervening stage when only *calĕfacio* was heard. From Auxiliaries like *volo* the shortening of the final *-ō* spread to other iambic Verbs, and finally, by analogy, to all Verbs in the first few centuries of the Empire, and the shortening of final *-ā* of Nouns (e.g. *terra*, originally **terrā*), which was fully effected before the literary period (ch. iii. § 4), had probably taken the same course.

In the absence of stress, certain final consonants caused in the second century B.C. the shortening of preceding long vowels, viz. (i) *-l*, e.g. *tribunăl* Ovid, but *bacchanāl* Plaut., both from earlier *-āle* (§ 12), (2) *-r*, e.g. *exemplăr* Hor. from earlier *exemplāre*, class. *mittăr*, *mittŏr*, *stridŏr*, *curĕr*, but *-ār*, *-ōr*, *-ēr* in Plautus, (3) *-t*,[2] e.g. class. *mittăt*, *mittĕt*, *curăt*, *audĭt*, *dixĭt*, but *-āt*, *-ēt*, *-īt* in Plautus. Before final *-m* too, which was in pronunciation dropped,[3]

[1] There is however a doubt whether the salutation *have* was really Imper. 2 Sg. of *avere*, to be eager. It may be a Carthaginian word.

[2] We find a similar difficulty in giving the *o* of 'note' as long a sound as the *o* of, let us say, 'node'.

[3] The dropping or weakening of final consonants in Latin was another result of the Stress-Accentuation. We find on plebeian inscriptions *ama* for *amat*, *fecerun* for *fecerunt*, &c. In the earlier poetry it is the rule, not the exception, that final *s* before an initial consonant does not lengthen a preceding short vowel by 'position', but Cicero (*Orator* 48. 161) tells us that this pronunciation was in his time considered 'subrusticum'. It occurs only once in Catullus,

giving the preceding vowel a nasal sound (§ 3), we know that the short quantity was used, e.g. *rĕm* (stem *rĕ-*).

Any long vowel or diphthong, even when accented, which preceded another vowel was reduced in quantity in Latin pronunciation, e.g. *illius* became *illĭus*, *praehendo* became *prĕhendo*. So in the utterance of the sentence a final long vowel would be reduced before an initial vowel. This tendency is often reflected in poetry, e.g. *quĭ amant* Virg., especially in the older poetry, and no doubt contributed its share to the shortening of final *-ā*, *-ō*, which has just been mentioned. This explains why the Law of Breves Breviantes affected long vowels when final, but less frequently when preceding a final *-s*, *-n*, &c. (e.g. *vĭdĕn*).

One other case of the shortening of long vowels calls for mention, namely the shortening of the long monosyllable *sī* in *sĭquidem*, and (in the older poetry) of *mē*, *tē*, *tū*, in *mĕquidem*, *tĕquidem*, *tŭquidem*, which has been compared to our shortening of 'sheep', 'know', &c., when a syllable is added, e.g. 'shep-herd', 'know-ledge'. Probably the vowel did not, strictly speaking, become a short vowel, but changed its accent from a circumflex to an acute (§ 11).

probably in the earliest of his extant poems (cxvi. 8): tu dabi' supplicium. How far the colloquial Latin forms *amatust*, &c., for *amatus est*, &c., are connected with this slurred pronunciation of final *s* is not clear. When the ending is *ĭs*, we find in the older Dramatists *-est* and not *-ist*, at least in the case of Adjectives, e.g. *brevest* for *brevis est*, *levest* for *levis est*. (On *potest* for *potis est* 'he is able', see ch. vi. § 23.) *Amatum est* was written in colloquial form *amatumst* or *amatust*, the latter spelling being probably the more exact expression of the pronunciation; *amata est* was written *amatast*, and so on.

CHAPTER III

THE NOUN

§ 1. **Declension.** The I.-Eur. Noun had three Genders, Masc., Fem., and Neuter; three Numbers, Sing., Dual, and Plural; and at least eight cases, Nom., Gen., Dat., Acc., Voc., Abl., Instrumental, and Locative. The Dat., Abl., Instr., and Loc. were not always distinguished in the Plural (cf. *Athenis*, 'for A.', 'from A.', 'with A.', 'at A.').

The three Genders are retained in Latin, but of the Numbers the Dual has disappeared. Traces of it remain in the Numeral *duō* Nom., *duōbus* Dat., *duō*, afterwards *duōs*, Acc. (on *octō* see ch. iv. § 5), and in the Pronoun *ambō* Nom., *ambōbus* Dat., *ambō*, afterwards *amb*ōs, Acc. (cf. Greek ἄμφω and Homer's δύω, both of which are Duals). On early inscriptions, when two members of a family are mentioned the Dual (in *ō*) is used, e.g. *M. C. Pomplio* 'Marcus, Gaius Pompilii'.

Of the Cases the Voc. hardly survives, except in the Singular of the Second Declension (e.g. *domine* Voc., *dominus* Nom.), for elsewhere the Nom. is used instead; and even in the Second Declension we find, e.g. *puer* Nom. used as Voc. in classical Latin, though in the Latin of Plautus' time the Voc. is *puere* (on *deus*, &c., Voc. see § 6). The Instrumental, a case which denoted not merely the instrument but also the manner or accompaniment of an action, may survive in some Adverbs like

modo, cito, though this is doubtful (ch. vii. § 1). The Locative Sing. of the First Declension, ending in *-āi* (a long diphthong) which passed in time into *-ae,* was identical in form with the Gen. and Dat. Sing., and came to be looked upon as a Genitive case (e.g. *Romae,* at Rome, had the same form as *Romae,* of Rome, and was called a Genitive); similarly in the Second Declension, where it ended originally in *-ei,* later *-ī,* and passed under the name of Genitive (e.g. *Corinthi,* at Corinth, had also the sense 'of Corinth'); in the Third Declension it ended originally in *-ĭ,* later *-ĕ,* and was used as an Ablative, as well as a Loc., under the name of Ablative (e.g. *Carthaginĕ,* at Carthage, had also the sense 'from Carthage'). (On these and other traces of the Locative see §§ 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13.)

The I.-Eur. Cases were indicated sometimes by the addition of suffixes, e.g. *-s* for Nom. Sg. Masc., *-m* for Acc. Sg., sometimes by a modification of the stem,[1] e.g. *patĕr,* Nom. Sg. of the stem *patĕr-,* 'a father', sometimes by both, e.g. **patr-ŏs* or **patr-ĕs* Gen. Sg., **patr-ōm* Gen. Pl. of the same stem. In these Genitives we see not merely the addition of the suffix *-ŏs* or *-es* (Gen. Sg.) and the suffix *-ōm* (Gen. Pl.), but also the modification of the stem from *patĕr-* to *patr-*. This modification of the stem played a great part in the I.-Eur. Declension, but has been effaced in Latin by the natural tendency to make one case like another in everything but the suffix. Thus the Acc. Sg. of *pater* was

[1] By 'stem' is meant that part to which the case-suffixes are added to form the different cases.

originally **paterem*, but has become *patrem* on the analogy of *patr-is, patr-i, patr-e*, as in Homer we find the Gen. Sg. πατέρος on the analogy of πατέρα Acc.

By 'Heteroclite' Declension is meant the appropriation of different stems to different cases. An example of I.-Eur. Heteroclite Declension is the declension of certain Neuter Nouns,[1] which had an R-stem in the Nom. and Acc. Sg., but an N-stem in the Gen., Dat., &c.; and Latin *fĕmur* Nom., *fĕminis* Gen. retains this ancient type. Examples of Latin Heteroclite Declension are the declension of (1) *iter*, a journey, where the stem *iter-* is used in the Nom. and Acc. Sg., but the stem *itiner-* for the other cases, e.g. *itineris* Gen., *itineri* Dat.,[2] (2) *senex*, an old man, with the stem *senec-* (cf. *senec-io*, an old man, *Senec-a*, ch. xi. § 11) in the Nom. Sg. and the stem *seni-* (or *sen-*) in the other cases,[3] (3) *supellex*, furniture, a Fem. Noun (or rather an Adjective agreeing with *res*) derived from *super* and *lego*, I lay, with the stem *supelleg-* (for *super-leg-*, ch. xi. § 19) in the Nom. Sg. and the stem *supellectĭli-* (for *super-lectili-*, this *lectilis* being Verbal Adj. from

[1] *Sanguis*, M. may be a relic of a Neuter I-stem with -i in the Nom. and -n- in the other cases. Hence the confusion between its I- and its N-stem. In Lucr. we have *sanguen* Neut. (i. 837, &c.) and *sanguis* (for **sanguin-s*) Nom. (iv. 1050); *sangui* Abl. in Ennius.

[2] The stem *itiner-* seems to be a patchwork of the R-stem of the Nom. *iter-* and the N-stem of the Gen. *iten-*. So *jecinoris*, beside *jecoris*, from *jecur*. In the older poetry we find that the classical usage has not yet established itself, e.g. ignoti iteris sumus, 'we do not know the road', Naev.; and even Lucretius has concussos itere (v. 653) and itinerque sequatur (vi. 339).

[3] Priscian quotes from Plautus a Gen. Sg. *senicis*. Probably the declension of *juvenis* influenced that of *senex*, through the frequent association of the two words in the same phrase.

lego as *coctilis*, cookable, from *coquo*) in the other cases. The rarity of Ī-stems caused the Ī-stem *vīs* to be declined like the numerous S-stems (ch. xi. § 19) in the Plural, *vires*, &c., though we have *vis*, the older Nom., Acc. Pl. even in Lucretius (iii. 265 multae vis; ii. 586 vis multas).

'Defective' Nouns are for the most part obsolete Nouns, isolated cases of which have been preserved in adverbial phrases, e.g. *dĭcis causa*, for form's sake, *secus* (ch. vii. § 2), *forte*, by chance (cf. *forsitan*, ch. viii. § 35), *sponte*, willingly. *Instar*, an equivalent (e.g. instar montis equus 'a horse as large as a hill'), connected with *insto*, to be steady, in equipoise,—of a balance, is perhaps an Inf., *instar*(*e*) (cf. *exemplar*(*e*) ch. ii. § 16), used as a Noun.

§ 2. **Gender.** The reason why certain nouns are masculine, others feminine, and others neuter in Latin, is not always to be found. In I.-Eur. the names of fruits were neuter, and so in Latin, e.g. *mālum*, an apple (Gk. *μῆλον*), while the name of the mother-tree, that bears the fruit, is feminine in Latin, e.g. *mālus*, an apple-tree (Gk. *μηλέα*). The names of the months and winds are masculine in Latin, because they are really Adjectives agreeing with *mensis* or *ventus*, e.g. *Januarius* (*mensis*), *Februarius* (*mensis*), *Martius* (*mensis*), *Auster* (*ventus*), *Caurus* (*ventus*), *Favonius* (*ventus*). The reason why the names of rivers are masculine in Latin seems to be that *fluvius* (cf. *amnis*) is masculine, just as they are masculine in Greek because *ποταμός*, a river, is masculine.

But the proneness of Nouns to take a new Gender by analogy of a Noun, which had the same termination or

a kindred meaning, or with which they were often joined in speech, made great confusion among the original Genders of Latin. Thus the occasional feminine Gender of *dies* may be due to the analogy of *nox*, a word with which it is frequently joined, e.g. *dies noxque maesta*, *dies noxque longa*, or to the fact that most Nouns with the termination *-iēs* are feminine.

The Fem. Gender was originally associated with Abstract Nouns, e.g. Lat. *optio*, choice. If however an Abstract Noun came to be used as a Concrete, it would change its gender; and so *optio*, in the sense of 'a centurion's assistant', was masculine. Similarly *agricŏla*, literally 'field-tillage' (from *ager*, a field, and *colo*, I till), became masculine in the sense of 'a field-tiller'; and this is the reason why A-stems (i.e. First Declension Nouns), which were associated with the Fem. Gender in I.-Eur., are often masculine in Latin. O-stems (i.e. Second Declension Nouns) were similarly associated with the Masculine (with Nom. Sg. in *-ŏs*, classical Lat. *-ŭs*) and the Neuter Gender (with Nom., Acc. Sg. in *-ŏm*, class. Lat. *-ŭm*); but we have a few feminine O-stems in Latin, e.g. names of trees like *mālus*. In Latin these feminine O-stems show a tendency to pass into the Fourth Declension, e.g. *domus*, a Second Decl. Noun till Sulla's time (§ 6). The confusion of masculine and neuter O-stems may be illustrated by the words *collum*, the neck, which in Plautus is *collus*, and which was masculine in I.-Eur. (cf. Germ. Hals, 'the neck', Masc.), and *uterus*, which in Plautus as in I.-Eur. is neuter, *uterum* (§ 6). The heteroclite declension of

masculine nouns like *lŏcus*, with Neuter Plural *loca*, is usually the result of a primitive practice of using a Fem. Sg. Collective Ā-stem as a Plural of a masculine O-stem. Thus *loca*, originally a Fem. Sg. meaning 'a collection of spots', 'a district', was used as the Plural of *locus*, 'a single spot', and received the declension of a plural, *locorum* Gen., *locis* Dat., &c. A clear example of this practice is the Greek *μῆρα*, meaning 'a mass of thigh-bones,' which was originally a Fem. Sg. Collective, but was treated in common use as if it were a Plural of *μηρός*, 'a single thigh-bone'. The origin of the Neut. Pl. in *-a* from a Collective Fem. Sg. explains the use in Greek (and the earliest Sanscrit) of a Singular Verb with a Neuter Plural Noun, e.g. *μῆρα καίεται*.

§ 3. **Number.** Some nouns are from their nature confined to the Singular or to the Plural Number. Abstract Nouns are naturally Singular, though the Plural is often found in a concrete sense (e.g. *opera*, work, exertion, *operae*, workmen; *auxilium*, help, *auxilia*, auxiliary troops), occasionally with transference of this concrete sense to the Singular (e.g. accedes opera agro nona Sabino, 'you will be thrown in as ninth hand on my Sabine farm,' Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 118). The use of the Plur. in certain words dates from Indo-European times, e.g. *tenebrae*, and in names of parts of the body, e.g. *praecordia* (cf. Gk. *φρένες*), *cervices* for **cere-vehīces* 'head-carriers', the muscles of the neck (*cervix* was a poetic innovation). Often a Noun has a different sense in the Singular and in the Plural, e.g. *aedes*, Sg. a single room, hence 'a temple', Pl. a house (cf. Homer's *δόμος* and *δόμοι*). *Liberi* is Plur.

of the Adj. *liber*, 'the freeborn children of the house', as opposed to the *vernae*.

§ 4. **The First Declension.** The Latin First Declension consists of Ā-stems. These Ā-stems were, as we saw in the last paragraph, originally feminine, but sometimes became masculine, when they changed their meaning from an abstract to a concrete sense. *Agricola*, from *ager* and *colo*, indicated originally the abstract idea of 'field-tillage', and in this sense was feminine, like *fuga*, flight (Greek φυγή), or any other Abstract Noun. It became masculine when it passed to the concrete sense of 'a man who tills the fields', by the same transition as is seen in our words 'relation', 'youth', which meant originally 'relationship', 'youthhood', then secondly 'a related person', 'a youthful person'. In Greek these Masc. Concrete Ā-stems took an *-s* in the Nom. Sg. like O-stems, e.g. νεανίας, a youth (from a lost νεανία, the period of youth), with the same ending as νέος, young; and in two very early Latin words we seem to have a trace of a similar usage, viz. *hosticapas*, a capturer of the enemy, and *paricidas*, or *parricidas*,[1] a murderer.

But if Masc. Ā-stem Nominatives in *-as* ever existed beside Fem. Ā-stem Nominatives in *-a* in Latin, they had dropt out of use as early as the time of Plautus, for with him, as with all subsequent writers, the Nom. Sg. ending of masculine and feminine Ā-stems alike is *-a*. This *-a* must have been originally long (cf. Gk. χώρᾱ), but had been shortened at a very early period, first in

[1] The word is spelt with one *r* in the ancient spelling, in which a double consonant was never written double (ch. i. § 8).

iambic words like *fŭga, mŏra* (see ch. ii. § 16), then by their analogy in all words. Even in the earliest poetry there is no trace of *-ā*.[1]

The Gen. Sg. ended originally in *-ās*, an ending which is common in feminine Nouns in the early poetical language,[2] and which, owing to the conservative spirit of Roman Law, was retained in the legal phrase *pater-familias*, lit. 'head of the household'. Masculine Ā-stems, following the analogy of O-stems (2 Decl.), took the ending *-ī*, an ending which they added to the final *-ā* of their stem, e.g. *agricolā-ī*, and this ending came to be assumed by feminine Ā-stems too as early as the time of Plautus (cf. § 5). Through the Roman habit of shortening a long vowel before another vowel (ch. ii. § 16), *-āī* became *-ăi*, and the two vowels were united into a diphthong *-ai*, class. *ae* (ch. x. § 11). In Plautus' verse the two forms seem usually to play the part of what phoneticians call 'doublets'; *-āī* is the prevocalic doublet, *-ae* the preconsonantal, e.g. *terrāī agros* (with elision of the *ī*), *terrae montes*. By Terence's time the ending *-āī* had probably quite disappeared from actual speech (as the disyllabic form of the ending '-tion' disappeared from English), although poets like Lucretius and Virgil, who love to insert archaic forms in their lines

[1] Ennius' 'Et densis aquilā pinnis obnixa uolabat' is a case of lengthening in arsi like his 'Sic expectabat populūs atque ora tenebat'. This lengthening in arsi was an imitation of Homer's prosody.

[2] Examples are *Latonas, escas, Monetas*, Liv. Andronicus; *Terras, fortunas*, Naev.; *vias* Enn. Even in Virgil the commentator Servius favours the reading *auras* for *aurae* in *Aen.* xi. 801.

for the sake of poetic effect, offer many examples, e.g. *aulai Aen.* iii. 354; *aurai*, vi. 747; *aquai*, vii. 464. Notice the dignity which it lends to a famous passage of Lucretius (i. 84–6):

> Aulide quo pacto Triviai virginis aram
> Iphianassai turparunt sanguine foede
> Ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum.

To Martial it seemed typical of the uncouth, early Latin poetry (xi. 90. 5):

> Attonitusque legis 'terrai frugiferai',
> Accius et quicquid Pacuviusque vomunt.

The Dative Sg. ending was originally *-āi* (a long diphthong; cf. Gk. χώρᾳ). This ending, according to its position in the sentence, would assume the forms *-ā* or *-ai* (the ordinary diphthong, with the first element short); and in early inscriptions we find both these forms, e.g. IVNONEI LOVCINA and LOVCINAI, 'to Juno Lucina', PROSEPNAI, 'to Proserpine'.[1] In time, however, the second form, *-ai*, was preferred to the other and developed into the classical *-ae*.

The Locative Sg. ending was likewise *-āi* (the long diphthong), which became *-ae* at the same time as Gen. *-ai* (originally *-āī*) became *-ae*. Examples of Locatives (called Genitives by the Latin writers on Grammar and their modern imitators) are *Romae*, at Rome, *militiae*, at warfare, on the field, and Plautus' phrase for 'next door', 'at the next house', viz. *proxumae viciniae*.

In the Acc. Sg. ending, *-am*, the *a* was originally long

[1] This was at first wrongly read PROSEPNAIS, and supposed to be a Genitive. An early Latin 'Genitive in *-ais*' is a fiction.

(cf. Gk. χώρᾱν), but, like all long vowels before final *-m* in Latin (ch. ii. § 16), became short.

The Abl. Sg. had originally *-ād*. This final *-d*, like every final *d* after a long vowel (ch. ii. § 9), was dropt in pronunciation before the time of Plautus, though we find it used (as an archaism like Virgil's *olli* for *illi* in the Aeneid) by Naevius in his Epic:

Noctu Troiad exibant capitibus opertis,
'cloaking their heads they passed at night-time from Troy.'

The Nom. Pl. in Latin, as in Greek, discarded the original ending *-ās* for an ending modelled after the Second Declension, viz. the diphthong *-ai*, written and pronounced in the classical period *-ae*. But *-as* remained in dialects of Italy, and apparently it is a dialectal Nom. Plur. of this type which is found in a play of Pomponius, descriptive of life in an Italian country town:

Quót laetitias insperatas módo mi inrepsere in sinum.

The Gen. Pl. ending in I.-Eur. was -āsōm, which by the Latin laws of sound became *-ārŏm*, classical *-ārŭm*, e.g. *dearum* (see ch. x. § 19; ch. ii. §§ 16, 14), by the Greek, first *-ᾱων*, e.g. Homeric *θεάων*, then *-ῶν*, e.g. Att. *θεῶν*.

The Dat., Abl., Loc., or Instr. Plur. (these cases, as we have seen, are not always to be distinguished in the Plural) had originally the ending *-ais* (one syllable), which became *-eis* (ch. ii. § 14), then *-īs* (ch. x. § 11). In old Latin we find another ending *-ābus* (cf. the ending of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Declensions); and in legal language this was kept up in a few nouns for the sake of distinguishing them from cognate O-stems, e.g. *filiabus* (but

filiis Masc.), *deabus* (but *deis* Masc.), *libertabus* (but *libertis* Masc.), just as we, without the same justification, keep up the old Plural suffix in a few words like 'oxen', but have dropped it in the rest, e.g. 'shoes' (earlier 'shoon').

The Acc. Plur. had *-ās* from *-āns*.

§ 5. Thus the scheme for the First Declension will be:—

Sing.

Nom.		*-ā*, which became *-ă*.
Gen.	(1)	*-ās*, retained in *familias*.
	(2)	*-āī*, which became *-a͡ī*, *-ae*.
Dat.		*-a͡ī*, which became *-a͡ī*, *-ae*.
Loc.		same as Dat.
Acc.		*-ām*, which became *-ăm*.
Abl.		*-ād*, which became *-ā*.

Plur.

Nom.		*-a͡ī*, *-ae*.
Gen.		*-āsōm*, which became *-ārŭm*.
Dat. Loc.	(1)	*-ābus* (from -ābhŏs), retained in *filiabus*, &c.
	(2)	*-a͡īs*, which became *-eis*, then *-īs*.
Acc.		*-ās*.
Abl.		same as Dat., Loc.

Greek Proper Names sometimes retain their Greek declension in poetry, e.g. *Pēlŭdes*, Acc. *Peliden*, Gen. Pl. *Atrĭdum* (cf. *amphorum*, *drachmum*).[1] And in epitaphs of slaves, freedwomen, and the like, we often find the Greek Gen. Sg. in *-ης* expressed in Latin characters by *-aes*, e.g. *Faustinaes*, *Anniaes* (Greek *η* had the long, open

[1] The poetic *caelicolum* is a Graecism.

vowel-sound of Latin *ae*; see ch. ii. § 2). Most Gk. words in *-ης* passed in Early Latin into the Fifth Decl., as is natural, since they were Proper Names used mainly in the Singular, and the only case of the Singular which could suggest the First Decl. was the Vocative. Plautus declines *Hercules* in the same way as he declines *fides*, with Gen. *Herculēī* (like *fidēī*, § 13) or *Herculēi* (*-lī*), although the word afterwards was transferred to the Third Decl. Cicero retains this Gen. Sing. in *-ī* in *Achilli*, *Aristidi*, &c., being possibly influenced by the consideration that a Latin Gen. Sing. in *-ī* was the true expression of a Gk. Gen. Sing. in *-ου*. But words like *ποιήτης* which were freely used in the Plural became Nouns of the First Decl. in Latin.

§ 6. **The Second Declension.** The Latin Second Declension consists of Ŏ-stems, which are either Masculine (with Nom. Sg. in *-ŏs*, class. Lat. *-ŭs*), or Neuter (with Nom., Acc. Sg. in *-ŏm*, class. Lat. *-ŭm*). The few Fem. O-stems, e.g. *domus*, a house (Gk. *δόμος* Masc.); *colus*, a distaff (Gk. *πόλος* Masc.), *nurus*, a daughter-in-law (Gk. *νυός*), and names of trees (§ 2) like *mālus*, an apple-tree, *laurus*, a laurel-tree, tend to pass into the Fourth Declension (Nom. Pl. *laurūs* and *lauri*, &c.). *Pelagus*, a Greek loan-word (*πέλαγος,-εος*) is curiously treated as a Second Declension Noun in Latin, much as words like *poema* in the Plural, e.g. Dat., Abl. *poematis*.

In the Nom. Sing., masculine RO-stems[1] dropped

[1] Not LO-stems. Lucretius' *famul infimus* (iii. 1035) is a direct imitation of Ennius' *famul ultimus*, 'famulus ultimus'. Ennius seems to have borrowed the form from his native Oscan.

at some early period the final *ŏs* if the syllable preceding the *r* had a short vowel, e.g. *vir*, not **vĭros* (**virus*), *satur*, not **satŭros* (**saturus*), *ager*, not **ăgros* (**agrus*; cf. Gk. *ἀγρός*). The oldest extant Roman inscription still shows the ending, SAKROS ESED '*sacer erit*'. If a long vowel preceded the *r*, the final *ŏs* was retained, e.g. *sevērus*, *amārus*. It was retained too in words whose *r* was originally *s*: e.g. *numerus* (cf. the dialectal name *Numisius*); *morigerus* (Plaut.) from *mos* and *gero* (Perf. *ges-si*, Sup. *ges-tum*) 'bearing another man's humour', 'complaisant'; *ferus*, *umerus*, *erus*. These are not RO-stems but SO-stems. Whether Plautus' *socĕrus* and Ennius' *voltŭrus* (§ 8 *n.*) are actual exceptions to the rule is doubtful, for the true readings may be *socrus*, an O. Lat. by-form of *socer* (Men. 957):

ábiit socrus (*soccrus* MSS.), abíit medicus,

and *volturis* (?). *Utĕrus* was in O. Lat. a Neuter, *uterum*, and *pĭrus* (with *jūnī-pĭrus*, lit. 'Juno's pear', like *jū-glans* 'Jove's acorn') may be influenced by *pirum*. *Propĕrus* is a later coinage from the Verb *properare* (see ch. xi. § 20); the older and more correct formation of a Compound Adj. from the Verb *paro* appears in *pau-per*. IO-stems took in familiar language the ending *-īs*, as well as *-ios* (class. *-ius*), in the Nom. and in the Gen. *-ī*, in the Acc. *-im*, in the Voc. *-ī*. For example, in an early law of Plautus' time, the Decree of the Senate against Bacchanalian orgies (the S. C. Bacch.), the consuls' names are written in the ceremonious form, *Marcius*, *Postumius*, while the secretaries' names have the other

ending, *Claudi(s)*, *Valeri(s)*, *Minuci(s)* (p. 40 *n.*). (On *equos*, *ceus*, *equus*, &c., see ch. ii. § 10.)

The termination of the Gen. Sg. *ī* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. One theory finds in phrases like *lucri facere* 'to make a profit of' (lit. 'make of profit') the original type, a type employed in Sanscrit. Another assumes that I.-Eur. EI, when unaccented, became *ī* in Latin from the earliest period and sees in this termination[1] the Loc. Sg. ending EI of Gk. ἐκεῖ, οἴκει (beside οἴκοι), &c. IO-stems too show *ī*. Varro, in his investigation of the plays of Plautus, found that the plays of another dramatist, Plautius, had been confused with them, owing to the similarity of the Gen. Case *Plauti* in the title. In the Augustan age it became the fashion to use *-ĭī* as the ending of the Gen. Sg. of IO-Noun-stems, e.g. *praedii*, *consilii*, *Virgilii*, as *-ĭī* had been at a previous period used in Adjectives, e.g. *patrii sermonis egestas* Lucr.

The Dat. Sg. ending was *-ōi* (the long diphthong; cf. Gk. οἴκῳ), which, according to its position in the sentence, would assume the forms *-ō* or *-oi* (the ordinary diphthong). These two 'doublets' are both found in very early Latin (cf. *Numasioi* 'Numerio', p. 37), but the contest between them was decided before the literary period in favour of the first. (Contrast the history of the Dat. Sg. of the First Declension, § 4).

The Voc. Sg. had *-ĕ*, an ending which remained unchanged, e.g. *dominĕ*, though we find the Nom. occasionally, e.g. *deus* (always), vos O Pompilius sanguis (Hor.

[1] Faliscan *Zextoi* is a Dative ('for Sextus'), not a Genitive.

A. P. 292). (On the variation of ĕ with ŏ in I.-Eur. declension and conjugation see ch. x. § 12.)

The Abl. Sg. ended originally in *-ōd*, class. *-ō* (ch. x. § 17) e.g. *Gnaiuod* 'Gnaeo' on a Scipio epitaph. A by-form in *-ēd* (class. *ē*) was reserved for Adverbial Ablatives, e.g. *facilumed* 'facillime' on the S. C. Bacch. (see ch. vii. § 4).

The Nom. Plur. Masc. of O-stems borrowed the ending of the Pronoun Declension, viz. *-oi* (e.g. Gk. *οἶκοι* like *οὗτοι*), which in Latin became first *-ei*, then *-ī* (ch. ii. § 14). The *o*-diphthong is seen in a very early phrase, *pilumnoi poploi* (i.e. *pilumni populi*), 'the tribes armed with the pilum', a description of the Romans in the Carmen Saliare, the ancient hymn of the leaping priests of Mars. In the Latin of Plautus' time (see ch. iii. § 5) we find an *-s* added to this ending for Pronouns, with the particle *ce* added, e.g. *heisce* or *hisce* (class. *hi*) *illeisce* or *illīsce* (class. *illi*), but not for Nouns; although, on inscriptions of a century later, we find the irregular Nom. Pl. *magistreis* or *magistris* for *magistrī*, &c.

The Nom. Acc. Neut. Plur. in *-a* had originally *-ā*, which like the *-a* of the Nom. Sg. of the First Declension (§ 4) had become short before the literary period. (On the origin of the Neut. Plur. in *-a* from a Fem. Collective Sing., see § 2).

The proper Gen. Pl. ending *-ōm*, which became *-ŏm* (ch. ii. § 16), then *-ŭm* (ch. ii. § 14) in Latin, was retained in a few Genitives like *deum*, *nummum*, *triumvirum*. But an ending *-ōrŏm* (class. *-ōrŭm*), originating in the Pronoun Declension, where it followed the analogy of the *-ārŭm* of Ā-stems (§ 4) (e.g. *illorum* like *illarum*), spread from

Pronouns to Adjectives, where it was found useful in the discrimination of Gender (e.g. *bonorum*[1] beside *bonarum*), and ultimately to Nouns (e.g. *filiorum* beside *filiarum*). In Nouns it did not succeed in fully asserting itself against the proper ending *-um* till the time of Cicero, who tells us that he yielded to the new fashion in certain words, but not in others. He allowed *pro deorum fidem!* or *pro deum fidem!* but only *triumvirum, sestertium, nummum,* &c. (*Orat.* 46. 155). One of these Genitives Plural, *sestertium* (sc. *mille*), 'a thousand (of) sesterces', came to be regarded as a Neuter Singular and formed a Plural *sestertia*.

The Dat., Abl., Loc., Instr. Plural ending was *-ois* (cf. Gk. οἷκοις), which became *-eis* (ch. ii. § 14), then *-īs* (ch x. § 11). The oldest form of the ending appears in the ancient Carmen Saliare, in the word *priviclos*, i.e. *prīvĭcŭlis*, with the sense of *singulis*. The Acc. Pl. ending is *-ōs*, from *-ŏns*.

§ 7. Scheme of the Second Declension.

	Sing.
Nom. M.	*-ŏs*, which became *-ŭs*. (dropped in RO-stems, e.g. *ager*).
N.	*-ŏm*, which became *-ŭm*.
Gen.	*-ī*, also the Gen. suffix of IO-stems.
Dat.	*-ōi*, which became *-ō*.
Loc.	*-ei*, which became *-ī*.
Acc.	*-ŏm*, which became *-ŭm*.
Voc.	*-ĕ*.
Abl.	*-ōd*, which became *-ō*.

[1] We have *duonoro'm*, the old form of *bonorum*, in an early epitaph of one of the Scipio family in the phrase *duonoro optumo uiro*, i.e. 'bonorum optimum virum', where the last word is rather Acc. Sg. than Gen. Pl.

Plur.

Nom. M.		*-oi*, which became *-ei*, then *-ī*.
N.		*-ā*, which became *-ă*.
Gen.	(1)	*-ōm*, which became *-ŏm*, then *-ŭm*.
Gen.	(2)	*-ōrum*, originally proper to Pronouns, then to Adjectives also.
Dat. Loc.		*-ois*, which became *-eis*, then *-īs*.
Acc.		*-ōs* (from *-ŏns*).
Voc.		same as Nom.
Abl.		same as Dat., Loc.

On the old Dual Nom. in *ō*, see § 1.

§ 8. **The Third Declension.** This should properly be divided into two declensions, (1) Consonant-stems, (2) I-stems, but these two are so similar and so intermixed in certain cases, that the Latin writers on Grammar joined them into one. I-stems have a Gen. Pl. in *-ium*, an Acc. Sg. in *-im*, and an Abl. Sg. in *-ī* (earlier *-īd*); Cons.-stems have a Gen. Pl. in *-um*, an Acc. Sg. in *-em*, and an 'Abl.' (properly Locative) Singular in *-ĕ* (earlier *-ī*). But, e. g., *vāti-*, an I-stem, has *vatum* Gen. Pl., and most I-stems assumed in time the Cons.-stem Acc. Sg. and 'Abl.' Sg., although Neuter I-stems kept the Abl. in *-ī* for the sake of distinction from their Nominative Case (e. g. *mari* Abl., *mare* Nom.). And Consonant-stems sometimes show the I-stem endings. The Gen. Plur. is the case where the distinction between Consonant and I-stems has been best retained. In the Nom. Sing. some I-stems retain their *i*, e. g. *vest-i-s*, but it is lost in *sors* (*sortis* Plaut.), *Arpinas*

(*Arpinatis*, Plaut.), *imber* (stem *imbri-*), &c. (see ch. ii. § 12).

The Consonant-stems consist of (1) Guttural-stems, e. g. *dŭx* (stem *dŭc-*, the weak form of the root *deuc-*, to lead), *rēx* (stem *rēg-*, the lengthened form of the root *rĕg-*, 'to stretch', 'to govern'), *nĭx* (stem *nĭg-*, the weak form of a root meaning 'to be wet', 'to snow').[1] (2) Labial-stems, e. g. *princeps*, *caelebs*.[2] (3) Dental-stems, e. g. *pes* (stem *pĕd-*), *herēs* (stem *herēd-*), *anas* (stem *anăt-*), *comĕs* (stem *com-ĭt-* from *cum* and *eo*). The numerous NT-stems are mostly Present Participles, e. g. *serpens* (stem *serpent-*), lit. 'crawling', *rudens*, lit. 'rattling', *oriens* (sc. *Sol.*).[3] (4) S-stems, e. g. *cinis* (stem *cinĕs-*), *tellūs* (stem *tellūs-*), *honŏr*, older *honōs* (stem *honos-*). The *r* has found its way into the Nom. from the Oblique Cases, where *s* stood between vowels and so became *r* by the Latin phonetic law), *opus*, earlier *opos* (stem *opŏs-*, *opĕs-*), *Venus*, earlier *Venos* (stem *venŏs-*, *venĕs-*, originally neuter and meaning 'glamour', whence *venēnum* for **venĕs-num*, lit. 'a love-philtre'). (5) N-stems, e. g. *homo*, *-ĭnis*, *sermo*, *-ōnis*, *caro*, *-nis*, with the M-stem *hiems*, *-mis*. (6) R-stems, e. g. *frater*, *-tris*, *conditor*, *-tōris*, *fur*, *fūris*. (7) A few L-stems, e. g. *sal*, *sol*.

The Nom. Sg. of Masc. and Fem. Nouns adds *-s* to the Stem, but in Neuter Nouns the bare Stem is used.

[1] The *g* of this root was a 'Labiovelar' guttural (see ch. x. § 18), like *gw* (cf. *ninguit*). Between vowels a *g* of this kind became *v* in Latin (ch. x. § 18); so we have in the Genitive *niv-is*.

[2] A word of uncertain derivation. The etymology of the Roman Grammarians 'quasi caelestium vitam ducens' will not do!

[3] *Gens*, *mens*, &c., are I-stems, *g^{e}n-ti-*, *m^{e}n-ti-* (ch. xi. § 12).

Examples are of Masc. and Fem. I-stems, *fīni-s, civi-s, vesti-s, sors* (*sorti-s* Plaut.), *pars*, and of Masc. and Fem. Cons.-stems, *princep-s, dŭx* for **dŭc-s, herēs* for **herēd-s*; of Neuter I-stems, *marĕ* (originally **marĭ*, ch. ii. § 14 *n.*), *trīste*, Neut. of *trīstis*, originally **tristĭ* (cf. Gk. ἴδρις, ἴδρις, ἴδρι with Lat. *tristis, tristis, triste*), of Neuter Cons.-stems, *allēc, caput, aes* (I.-Eur. ăyĕs- ; cf. *aënus* for **ayĕs-nos*), *crūs, opus, carmen, vēr*. (On Fem. Noms. in *-ēs*, see § 13.)

The *-ĕ* of Neut. I-stems was often dropped (cf. ch. ii. § 12), so that *animāle* (properly the Neuter of the Adj. *animalis*) became *animal* with consequent shortening of the *ā* before final *l* (ch. ii. § 16) ; *calcāre* (sc. *ferrum*), a spur, lit. 'the (iron) fastened on the heel (*calx*)', became *calcăr* ; *lacte*, the form found in Plautus, became *lact* and then *lac*, owing to the difficulty of pronouncing *-ct* at the end of a word, the same difficulty as we have with a group like *-mb* in 'lamb'; **corde* in the same way became *cord*, a form that should perhaps be written in lines of Plautus where the word is scanned as a long syllable, then *cor*.

Masc. and Fem. R- and N-stems formed their Nom. Sg. in a different way, R-stems in (1) *-ōr*, e. g. *dătōr* (class. *dătŏr*), (2) *-ēr*, e. g. *mātēr* (class. *mātĕr*) (cf. Gk. δώτωρ, πατήρ), N-stems in *-ō* (Gk. *-ων*), e. g. *cărō*, flesh, originally 'a portion of anything', then 'a portion of flesh' (connected with Gr. κείρω, to cut), *hŏmō*, said to be connected with *hŭmus*, the ground.[1] (On this *ĕ* and *ō* see ch. x. § 12.)

[1] In Old Latin we have a by-form *hĕmo* (cf. *nemo* for **nĕ-hĕmo*) and

The Gen. Sg. ending of Cons.-stems was (1) -ĕs, (2) -ŏs. Of these the former was adopted in Latin, and became in class. Lat. *-ĭs* (ch. ii. § 14), e. g. *reg-ĭs*. There are traces of the latter in early spellings on inscriptions like *nominus* for class. *nominis, hominus* for class. *hominis*.[1] I-stems properly took *-eis*, which would be in class. Lat. *-īs*, but there is no instance of a Latin I-stem using any other than the Cons.-stem ending, e. g. *turrĭs, partĭs* (on an inscr. of the second cent. B. C. we find *partus*).

The Dat. Sg. ending of Cons.-stems was perhaps -ai, which became *-ei* and in class. Lat. *-ī*, e. g. *regi*, and Latin I-stems show the same ending, e. g. *turri*. (On the *-e* of *jure dicundo*, &c., see ch. i. § 7.)

In the Acc. Sg. *m* was added to the stem, making in Latin Cons.-stems *-em* (ch. x. § 14), e. g. *reg-em*, and in I-stems *-im*, e. g. *turrim*. But the I-stems came almost all in time to take the Cons.-stem ending, e. g. *turrem, partem*. When an I-stem Acc. was used as Adverb however the older ending was retained, e. g. *partim* (but *saltem* with *-tem* by analogy of *au-tem*); and *-im* is invariable in *vim* (an Ī-stem, § 10).

The Abl. Sg. ending of I-stems was *-īd*, which became *-ī* in the latter part of the third cent. B. C. (ch. x. 17), e. g. *turrī*. Cons.-stems used their Locative, ending in *-ĕ* (class. Lat. *-ĕ*), instead of an Ablative, e. g. *reg-ĕ, Carthagin-ĕ*, as the Gk. Loc. was used as Dat., e. g. γέροντ-ι. These two endings are often exchanged, e. g. for I-stems

a by-declension in *-ōnis, -ōni*, &c., e. g. Enn.: Volturus in spinis miserum mandebat hemonem.

[1] On a leaden bullet (*glans*) used in the siege of Perusia is carved the 'Trochaic' line: Antoni calve, peristi Caesarus victoria.

turrĕ, partĕ, for Cons.-stems *majorī* and in early Latin *militī* Plaut., *couentionid* (i. e. 'contione') on the S. C. Bacch.; and the occasional *-ed* in early inscriptions may be a combination of the pair.

The Loc. Sg. ending of I-stems was -ĕyĭ (Gk. πόλε(*y*)ι), which in Latin would become *-ei,* class. *-ī,* e. g. *lucī,* in daylight; of Cons.-stems *-ĭ* (sometimes omitted in I.-Eur. Locatives), class. Lat. *-ĕ.* The use of the Cons.-stem Loc. as an Ablative, e. g. *Carthaginĕ,* from Carthage, had this result, that Cons.-stems sometimes took the I-stem ending for the sake of distinction; e. g. *rurī,* in the country, might be contrasted with *rurĕ,* from the country. I-stems often show the Cons.-stem ending, e. g. *mānĕ,* in the morning.

The Nom. Plur. ending of Masc. and Fem. Cons.-stems was properly -ĕs, which would be in class. Lat. *-ĭs* (ch. ii. § 14), and of I-stems -ĕyĕs (Gk. πόλε(*y*)ες), in Latin *-ēs* (ch. x. § 13). But there is no trace of a Latin Cons.-stem with any but the I-stem ending.[1] I-stems sometimes show *-eis,* class. *-īs,* properly the ending of their Acc. Pl. (see below).

In the Gen. Pl. *-ōm* (Lat. *-ŏm,* then *-ŭm,* ch. ii. §§ 16, 14) was added to the stem, so that *reg-um, turri-um* are correctly formed examples of a Cons.-stem and an I-stem. But the usual interchange is found. We have *vātum* from the I-stem *vāti-, ferentium* Masc. from the NT-stem *ferent-* (cf. Gk. φερόντ-ων), and the like;[2]

[1] Plautus' *canĕs* is a mere shortening like *vidĕs, cavĕ* (ch. ii. § 16).

[2] Caesar used *panium,* Verrius *panum*; Caesar *partium,* Pliny *partium.*

though as a rule the formation of the Gen. Pl. is the best test whether a Third Decl. Noun is an I-stem or a Cons.-stem. The distinction was better preserved in this case than in the Acc. and Abl. Sg.

In the Dat., Abl., Instr., Loc. Plur. the I.-Eur. ending was -bhŏs, Lat. *-bŏs*, class. *-bŭs*. An I-stem Dat. like *turri-bus* is regular; but the Cons.-stems borrowed the *i* of the I-stems to form their Dat., e. g. *reg-i-bus* instead of **reg-bus*, *milit-i-bus* instead of **milit-bus*.

The Acc. Pl. was formed by adding -ns to the stem. Latin Cons.-stems show *-ēs* from *-ĕns*, Lat. I-stems *-īs* from -ĭns, e. g. *rēges*, *turrīs*. By the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire this distinction came to be lost sight of, and *turres*, *partes*, and the like, were allowed instead of *turris*, *partis*. (On the occasional use of *-is* in the Nom. Pl. by confusion with the Acc., see above.)

§ 9. Scheme of the Third Declension.

I. Consonant-stems.

Sing.

Nom. M., F. (1) *-s*.
(2) Vowel lengthened in R- and N-stems, e. g. *datōr* (class. *datŏr*), *homō*.
N. The bare stem.

Gen. *-ĕs*, which became *-is*.
Dat. *-ei* (perhaps from an original -ai).
Loc. *-ĭ* used also as Abl.
Acc. *-ĕm* (from an original -ᵉm).
Abl. (see Loc.).

Plur.

Nom. M., F. (the I-stem ending was used).
N. *-a.*
Gen. *-ōm*, which became *-ŏm*, then *-ŭm.*
Dat. Loc. } (the I-stem ending was used).
Acc. *-ēs* (from *-ĕns* from an original *-ᵉns*).
Abl. (same as Dat., Loc.).

II. I-stems.

Sing.

Nom. M., F. *-ĭs.*
N. *-ĭ*, which became *-ĕ* (dropped in *animal*, &c.).
Gen. (the Cons.-stem ending was used).
Dat. (the Cons.-stem ending was used).
Loc. *-ei* (from *-ĕyĭ*), which became *-ī.*
Acc. *-ĭm.*
Abl. *-īd*, which became *-ī.*

Plur.

Nom. M., F. *-ēs* (from *-ĕyĕs*).
N. *-ia.*
Gen. *-ium.*
Dat. Loc. } *-ĭbŏs* (from *-i-bhŏs*), which became *-ĭbŭs.*
Acc. *-īs* (from *-ĭns*).
Abl. (same as Dat., Loc.).

§ 10. **Other Third Decl. Stems.** Nouns like *lōs*, *Jūpiter* (better spelt *Juppiter*) must be treated separately. They are Diphthong-stems *lŏv-*, *Jŏv-* (I.-Eur. $g^{w}ou$-, dyeu-), the latter being the same stem as is found in

diēs (§ 13). *Bōs* is probably not a true Latin word, I.-Eur. g^w being represented by *v*, not *b*, in Latin (ch. x. § 18), but a word of some country dialect. Its Gen. Pl. *boum* stands for *bor-um* with loss of *v* before *u* (ch. x. § 13); its Dat. Pl. *būbus*, *lōbus* (from g^woubhŏs) shows *ō*, *ū*, the long vowels to which the original diphthong *ou* developed in Latin (ch. x. § 11). *Ju-piter* (cf. *Diespiter*) is, of course, a compound, like *Mars pater*, its first part showing *ū* (older *ou*), the sound to which the original diphthong *eu* developed in Latin (ch. x. § 11). In early Latin we find the spelling *Diovem*, *Diove*, &c. (see ch. x. § 13). On *vīs* (Gk. *ἴς*, *ἶ-φι*), an I-stem (Acc. *vim*), and its wrong declension as an S-stem in the Plural, *vires*, *virium*, &c., see § 1. *Sūs* (Gk. *ὗς*) was originally a U-stem, with stem *sū-* before consonants (e. g. *sū-bus*; cf. Gk. *ὑ-ν*), *sŭ(v)-* before vowels (e. g. *su-is*, *su-ī*, *su-em*). *Navis* was an I.-Eur. Diphthong-stem nāu- (Gk. *ναῦς*), but has passed in Latin, like I.-Eur. U-stem Adjectives, e. g. *lĕvis* (Gk. *ἐλαχύς*) (ch. iv. § 1; ch. xi. § 13), into the I-declension.

§ 11. **The Fourth Declension.** The Fourth and Fifth Declensions do not preserve their individuality so well as the others. The Fourth, consisting of U-stems, does not always keep itself separate from the Second, while the Fifth is closely connected with the First. In the ordinary Latin of every-day life it is doubtful to what extent of their declension U-stems would show a different treatment from O-stems; and even the most careful writers decline only a few Fifth Declension Nouns, e. g. *dies*, *res*, throughout in what may be called a Fifth

Declension form. The U-stems of the Fourth Declension are Masculine or Neuter. There are a few Feminines, e. g. *domus, laurus,* which seem to have been originally O-stems (see § 6); but it is possible that at an earlier period there were more, for there are traces of Abstract U-stems like *metus,* fear (cf. Ion. Gk. *ἀρτύς,* a fitting, F., but Lat. *artus,* a limb, M.), having been Feminine in early Latin, e. g. nec metus ulla tenet, Ennius.

The U-declension, being in a manner the property of the educated section of the Roman world, was greatly subjected to the theories of Grammarians. The proper Nom. Sg. Masc. ending *-ŭs* was by some Grammarians pronounced *-ūs,* just as some made the *-u* of Nom. Sg. Neut. long, others short; the I.-Eur. Gen. Sg. ending -eus, in Latin *-ous,* then *-ūs* (ch. x. § 11), was by many discarded for the Gen. Sg. ending of Ŭ-stems (§ 10), *-uis,* e.g. *senatuis, domuis* (cf. Ter. *Haut.* 287 eius anuis causa, 'to oblige that old woman'), an ending which suited the Dat. Sg. ending *-ŭi,* older *-uei* (from I.-Eur. -ĕwai). The Emperor Augustus, who like his great predecessor, Julius Caesar, paid great attention to matters of Grammar, and is said to have cashiered an officer for using the vulgarism *isse* instead of *ipse,* always made the Gen. Sg. of *domus domos.* This *domos,* if it be anything more than a coinage of Augustus to suit some theory of his own, may be a genuine relic of another I.-Eur. ending -ous, which would be in Latin *-ous,* then *-ōs* (ch. x. § 11). But the Second Declension form of the Genitive, used in popular Latin, steadily maintained itself against all these rules and theories of the Gram-

marians, and Quintilian in the first century A. D. declares *senatī* to be as good a Genitive as *senatūs*. In the Dative, beside *-uī*, there is an occasional use of *-ū*, which seems to be the Locative ending (cf. *noctū*, in the night), from I.-Eur. -eu (ch. x. § 11). (On the use of this Locative in the Second Supine, see ch. vi. § 16.)

In the Nom. Plur. we should expect *-ŭĕs*, *-ŭĭs*, from I.-Eur. -ĕwĕs (Gk. πήχϵ(*F*)ϵς), but the Acc. ending is used instead, *-ūs*, from -ŭns. The Gen. Pl. often shows *-um* (the Second Declension ending) as well as the U-stem ending *-ŭum*, older *-ŭŏm*, from *-ŭōm* (ch. ii. §§ 14, 16) (I.-Eur. -ĕwōm, Gk. πήχϵ(*F*)ων) e. g. *mille passum* or *mille passuum*, a mile, lit. 'a thousand (of) paces'. In the Dat. Pl. *-ŭbus* became by the Latin laws of sound *-ĭbus* (ch. ii. § 14), but the older form was kept up for the sake of distinction in words like *arcubus*, 'to bows' (cf. *arcibus*, 'to citadels').

As regards Neuter U-stems the Latin Grammarians disputed, as we have seen, whether the *-u* of the Nom. Sg. was short or long. The Augustan poets certainly show the scansion *cornū*, &c., though the length of the *u* is difficult to justify. There was usually a Second Declension by-form in *-um*, e. g. *cornum*, Lucr. ii. 388:

Praeterea lumen per cornum transit.

§ 12. **Scheme of the Fourth Declension.**

Sing.

Nom. M. *-ŭs.*
N. *-u.*
Gen. (1) *-ūs* (from -eus).
(2) *-uis* (from -ŭwĕs, the Ū-stem suffix).
(3) *-ī*, the O-stem suffix.
Dat. *-uī*, older *-uei* (from -ĕwai).
Loc. *-ū* from *-eu* (used also as Dat.).
Acc. *-ŭm.*
Abl. *-ūd*, which became *-ū.*

Plur.

Nom. M. (see Acc.).
N. *-ua.*
Gen. (1) *-uŭm* (from -ĕwōm).
(2) *-ŭm* from *-ōm*, the O-stem suffix.
Dat. Loc. } *-ŭbŭs*, older *-ŭlŏs*, later *-ĭbŭs* (from -ŭbhŏs).
Acc. *-ūs* (from -ŭns).
Abl. (same as Dat., Loc.).

§ 13. **The Fifth Declension.** This may be called the Ē-declension, or all the Nouns that belong to it end their Nom. Sg. in *-ēs* and show the long vowel *ē* in at least some cases. But it is a veritable medley of most widely differing stems. We have (1) Verbal Noun-stems in *-ē*, e. g. *sordē-* (cf. *sordē-re* Inf., *sordē-facio*, &c.), with Abl. *sordē* and Gen. Pl. *sordērum* (in Plautus, but in late Latin *sordium*); similarly from *facio*, *faciēs*, and from

specio, speciēs. (2) Verbal Nouns in *-iēs* derived from Third Conj. Verbs whose Present has *-o*, not *-io*, e. g. *rabies* from *rabo, scabiēs* from *scabo, perniciēs* from a lost 3 Conj. Verb *neco*, along with its synonym *permitiēs*. (3) Nouns in *-iēs*, which are not Verbal Nouns, e. g. *temperiēs*, derived from *tempus*, especially Nouns in *-tiēs* from Adjs., e. g. *vastitiēs*, from *vastus, mollitiēs* from *mollis, segnitiēs* from *segnis, amicitiēs* from *amicus*. (4) *diēs*, with stem dyēw-, a by-form of dyĕw-, meaning 'sky', 'day'. The stem dyĕw- is the stem of *Jovis* Gen., *Jovi* Dat., &c. (§ 10). (5) *rēs*, with stem rēy-, and *spēs*, with stem sphēy-. To these may be added (6) Gk. Proper Names in *-ης*, at least in Early Latin, e. g. *Periphanes*, with Gen. *Periphanēi* (Plaut.) or *Periphanēi* (*-ni*). Even *Hercules* belongs to the Fifth Decl. in Plautus (see § 5).

Diēs and *rēs* are the most consistently declined according to what is called the 'Fifth Declension', e. g. Abl. *diē, rē*, Gen. Pl. *diērum, rērum*, Dat. Pl. *diēbus, rēbus*. Next comes *spēs*, which however is given by Ennius a Nom. Pl. *spēres*, as if it were an S-stem (cf. *vīres* Nom. Pl. of the I-stem *vīs*, § 1). But the Verbal and other Nouns in *-ies* belong as much to the First Declension as to the Fifth, for they have by-forms in *-ia*, e.g. *vastitia, temperia, effigia*, and the farther back we go in the literature the more does this side of their nature show itself. In Plautus the *iē*-forms are generally confined to the Nom. and Acc. Sg., while he prefers *-iae* in the Nom. Pl., e. g. *intemperiae*, and in the Dat. Sg., e. g. *materiae, -iā* in the Abl. Sg., e. g. *barbariā, -iis* in the Abl. Pl., e. g. *mollitiis*,

and so on (but *faciē* Abl., *speciē* Abl.). After his time the number of Nouns in *-iēs* and the number of cases to which this Ē-declension is extended steadily increases, though the Plural is always reserved by good writers for the *ā*-forms. All this points to those IĒ-stems having been originally IĀ-stems; and as we know that the presence of *i* had in certain circumstances the effect of giving *ā* the sound of *ē* (open *ē*) in Latin,[1] it has been thought possible that the greater part of the Fifth Declension Nouns are due to this change of sound. Verbal Nouns in *-ēs*, on the other hand, have affinity with I-stems (cf. *plēbēs* and *plēbs*), and most of them show the Ē-declension to a very limited extent only, e. g. *tābē* Abl.[2] *Requiē* Abl. (for *requiētĕ*), *requiem* Acc. (for *requietem*), may be due to the false analogy of the Nom. Sg. *requiēs* (for **requiēt*(*i*)*s*).

The formation of the Cases is closely modelled on the First Declension, *ē* being substituted everywhere for *ā*. The Gen. Sg. has *-ēi*, which was allowed to keep its long *ē* when an *i* preceded, e. g. *faciēī*, but shortened it in other circumstances, *fidĕi* (in early Latin *fidēi*, e. g. *plenu' fidēi* at the end of a hexameter line of Ennius). This shortening was in accordance with the Latin custom of shortening a long vowel before another vowel (ch. ii. § 16),

[1] *Jājunus* became *jējunus*, and *Jenuarius* was the vulgar form of *Jānuarius* (cf. Italian Gennaio) (p. 11 *n.*).

[2] Many so-called Nominatives in *-ēs* are really Nominatives Plural of I stems, e. g. *ambāgēs*, *nūbēs* (with a by-form *nūbis*), *saepes* (with a by-form *saeps*). Some feminine animal-names seem to be dialectal, e. g. *feles*, *pālumbes*. They take the I-stem declension. In O. Lat. *canēs* is Fem., *canis* Masc.

and in point of fact affected the ending *-iēī* as well, changing it to *-iēī*, then to *-iī*; for the Republican writers have *facii, pernicii, progenii*, &c. Some Grammarians changed this ending *-iī* to *-iĕ*, in order that the Genitive might show the *ĕ*-vowel, which was the distinguishing mark of the Fifth Declension; and Julius Caesar, we are told, stamped with his approval forms like *specie* and *die*. Others preferred the old Gen. in *-iēs* (like *-ās*, the old Gen. of the First Declension, § 4); and we hear of a great controversy as to whether *diēs* or *dīī* or *diē* was the form used by Virgil in a line of the Georgics (i. 208):

Libra dies somnique pares ubi fecerit horas,

and whether the same poet wrote *dii* 'of the day' or *dei* 'of the god' in *Aen.* i. 636:

Munera laetitiamque dei.

The *-ēī* of *fidēi*, and the like, also appears as *-ī*, e. g. *fami* (Lucilius), *tribunus plebi*, with a by-form in *-ē*, e. g. *fide* in Horace (*C.* iii. 7. 4):

Constantis juvenem fide.

The ending of the Dat. Sg. was not (as our Grammars and the Grammars compiled under the Roman Empire represent it) identical with the Gen. Sg. ending, *ĕi*. It is never disyllabic in the earlier poetry; though how it should be written, whether *ē* (e. g. *fidē*, Hor. prodiderit commissa fide) or *ī* (earlier *ēī*) is not certain. The first word to admit a disyllabic ending was *res*. Though Plautus makes the Dat. of *res* invariably a monosyllable, we find *rēī* in Lucr., *rĕī* in Hor. Even in the second century A. D. the grammarian Aulus Gellius tells us that

purists preferred *fucie* to *fuciei*. In this difference between the Gen. and the Dat. ending the Fifth Declension follows the First (see § 4).

Of the other cases we need mention only the Dat. Abl. Pl. in *-ēbus*, found in *rēbus*, *diēbus*.

§ 14. Scheme of the Fifth Declension.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*-ēs*.	*-ēs*.
Gen. (1)	*-ĕi̯*, *-ĕī*, *-ēi̯*, *-ī*.	*-ērum* (cf. 1 Decl. *-ārum*).
(2)	*-ēs* (cf. 1 Decl. *-ās*).	
Dat.	*-ē* (?).	*-ēbus* (cf. 1 Decl. *-ābus*).
Acc.	*-ĕm* from *-ēm*.	*-ēs* (from -ēns).
Abl.	*-ē* from *-ēd*.	(same as Dat.).

CHAPTER IV

THE ADJECTIVE

§ 1. **Distinction of Gender.** It is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the Adjective and the Noun. Words like *veteranus*, veteran, *tiro*, recruit, are as much Adjectives as Nouns, e. g. *veteranus exercitus*, *tiro exercitus*; and the declension of the Adjective was the same as that of the Noun, though it occasionally trenched on the Pronoun Declension,[1] e. g. *totius*, Gen. of *totus*, like *illius*, Gen. of *ille* (ch. v. § 8). A distinguishing feature of the Adjective is its distinction of the three Genders; thus *veteranus*, *-a*, *-um* is an Adjective, *veteranus* M. a Noun. To indicate these the Adjective Declension took advantage of the connexion of Ŏ-stems with the masculine and neuter and of Ā-stems with the feminine (ch. iii. § 2), e. g. I.-Eur. nĕwŏs M., nĕwā F., nĕwŏm N., Lat. *novus*, *nova*, *novum*. (On Nom. Sing. Masc. *-er* for *-rus*, see ch. iii. § 6). Besides the vowel *a* the vowel *i* was associated with the feminine gender (cf. Lat. *neptis* beside *nepos*), and U-stem Adjectives, for example, formed their Fem. in this way, so that, e. g., *tenuis* is properly the feminine form. The ending *-ia* (e. g. Gk. φέρουσα for *φεροντια)

[1] In German the 'Strong' Declension of the Adjective (where the Adj. is not preceded by the Def. Article) is a trace of the Pronoun Declension.

may have been an old Latin formation of the feminine Pres. Part., but was early relegated to the function of forming Abstract Nouns, e. g. *pollentia, abundantia* (cf. *repulsa*, an Abstr. Noun, beside *repulsus, -a, -um* ; *textura* beside *texturus, -a, -um*). In Latin the distinctions of gender in the Adjective have been greatly effaced.[1] *Tenuis* was used as Masc. as well as Fem., and all the U-stem Adjectives show the same treatment, e. g. *brevis* (Gk. βραχύς), *pinguis* (Gk. παχύς) ; *ferens*, &c. (cf. κεύθων, λεύσσων Eurip.) became the Fem. form too, though an earlier stage of the language possibly had **ferentis*, &c. (ch. ii. § 12) ; and, since final *-nt* became by a phonetic law of Latin *ns* (ch. x. § 17), *ferens* is also the Latin representative of **ferent* Neut. (Gk. φέρον for *φεροντ). Similarly Neuters like *duplĕc* (cf. the Neut. Noun *allĕc*) became assimilated to the Masc. form *duplĕx*. The distinction, however, is kept up in O-stem Adjectives in Latin even better than in Greek, for the Greek usage of the Masc. form of Compound O-stem Adjs. as a Fem., e. g. ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,[2] is unknown in Latin,[3] and in RI-stems the fashion came in of distinguishing the Masc. in *-er* from the Fem. in *-ris*, e. g. *ācer* M., *ācris* F. O-stems lost their distinction between Masc. and Fem. only when they passed into I-stems.

[1] *Vetus* M., F., N. was originally a noun (Gk. (*f*)έτος, a year), and seems to have taken its adjectival use from the phrase *vinum vetus* 'one-year wine' (cf. *anniculus* 'a year old').

[2] Ῥοδοδάκτυλος was perhaps really a noun in apposition to Ἠώς, 'Dawn Rose-finger'.

[3] The Columna Rostrata has *triresmosque naueis* 'triremosque (class. Lat. *-mesque*) naves'.

This was a course often taken by Latin O-stem Adjectives. Thus O. Lat. *inermus, -a, -um* is class. Lat. *inermis, -is, -e,* and *hĭlărus,* a word which the Romans borrowed from the Greek (Gk. ἱλαρός), just as we borrow terms for the finer nuances of feeling from the French (e. g. triste), soon became *hilaris.*

§ 2. **Comparison.** The I.-Eur. suffixes used to form the Comparative and Superlative of Adjectives were -yĕs- (weak grade -is-, ch. x. § 12), -isto- (e. g. Gk. ἡδίω Acc. for *ἡδίοσα, Engl. sweeter, with *r* from *s*; Gk. ἥδιστος, Engl. sweetest), and to some extent also -tĕrŏ- (-ĕrŏ-) and -tĕmŏ- (-ĕmŏ-) (Gk. ἡδύτερος). In Latin the suffix -yĕs- (-is-) was used for the Comparative, e. g. *suavior* from *suavĭōs* with ending -yōs, the O-grade of -yĕs (ch. x. § 12); but -tĕmŏ- is found only in 'Superlatives' like *intimus, ultimus,* and -tĕrŏ- is used to form Adverbs, e. g. *breviter* (Gk. βραχύτερος) and local Adjectives, e. g. *dexter* (Gk. δεξιτερός has this suffix in the same function; see ch. xi. § 8), as we have -tĕmŏ- in the local Adjectives *finitimus, maritimus* (ch. xi. § 7). *Postumus* may be a shortening of *pos(ti)-tumus, posterus* of *pos(ti)-terus.* But -mŏ- and -ĕmŏ- appear as Superlative suffixes in *summus* for **sup-mus* (ch. x. § 16), *infimus* and *imus,* and (appended to the Comparative suffix -ĭs-) in *maximus* for **magisimus* (ch. ii. § 12), *sacerrimus* for **sacrisimus* (ch. ii. § 12), *facillimus* for **faclisimus* (ch. x. § 19). Neither the origin of the usual Superlative ending *-issimus* nor the date of its introduction are clear, e. g. *purissimus,* Old Lat. *purimus.*

§ 3. **Irregular Comparison.** The irregular Comparison of simple Adjectives like 'good', 'bad' is a relic of a

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very early time when different roots were used to express a Positive, a Comparative, and a Superlative (Gk. *ἀγαθός*, *ἀμείνων*; Engl. good, better), e. g. Lat. *bonus* (older *duonus*[1]), *melior*, *optimus* (older *opĭtumus* from the root op- of *opto*, *opes*, &c.). The coexistence of such forms as *benevolus* and *benevolens* produced a type of Comparison like *magnificus*, *magnificentior*, *magnificentissimus*; while *frūgī*, which was a Dative Case of a Noun, 'for fruit', 'fit for bearing good fruit' (cf. Plaut. tamen ero frugi bonae), had recourse for its Comparative and Superlative to the Adj. *frūgālis*. The retention of *v* in the Positive, with its suppression (ch. ii. § 12) in the other Degrees, causes the anomaly in the Comparison of *dives* (but cf. Ter. *Adelph.* 770 dis quidem esses, Demea), *ditior*, *ditissimus*; *jŭvĕnis*, *jūnior*. *Plus*, *plurimus*, older **ploīs*, **ploisomos*, come from plō-, a grade (ch. x. § 11) of plĕ- (ch. vi. § 3), which is a development of the root pel-, 'to fill' (Gk. *πλήρης*, *πλείων* from **πλη-γων*, *πλεῖστος* from **πληιστος*, Lat. *plē-nus*, *plērique*). *Major* comes from **mahior* from a root magh-, while *magis*, *maximus* show another form of the root, viz. mag-. *Nequior* and *nequissimus* are curious coinages for the Comp. and Superl. of the indeclinable Adj. *nĕ-quam*, lit. 'a no-how' (cf. O. Lat. *nequalia*, nuisances, drawbacks). *Ocior* (Gk. *ὠκίων*) lacks a Positive in Latin, though it has one in Greek, *ὠκύς*. *Potis*, the Positive of *potior*,

[1] Thus on a Scipio epitaph:

Hone oino ploirume cosentiont Romai
Duonoro optumo fuise uiro,

'hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum.'

preferable, has the sense of 'able', e. g. *potis sum* (class. *possum*, ch. vi. § 23), and is in Greek the Noun *πόσις*, a master, lord.

§ 4. **Numerals.** Of the Latin Cardinal Numbers 1–3 are inflected: *ūnus, -a, -um; duō*[1] (a Dual form, ch. iii. § 1), *-ae, -ō; -trēs, -ēs, -ia* (Plur. of an I-stem, tri-); not 4, as Gk. *τέσσαρες, -ες, -α*. The Numeral Adverbs from 5 upwards end in *-iens* or *-ies*, the I.-Eur. ending -yĕnt (ch. x. § 17). For the fraction 'half' we have *sēmi-* (I.-Eur. sēmĭ-, Gk. *ἡμι-*, O. Engl. sām-, whence our 'sand-blind'), while as an Adjective *dimĭdius* (from *dis* and *medius*) was used. 'One and a half' is *sesquī-*, for **sēmisque*, with the same syncope as is seen in *sestertius*, 'two and a half', for **sēmis-tertius* (cf. Germ. drittehalb).

§ 5. **Scheme of the Latin Numerals.**

Card.	Ord.	Adv.
1. *unus*, older *oinos* (I.-Eur. oinos, Eng. one; cf. Gk. *οἶος*, alone, for *οἰϝος*).	*primus*, older **prismos*, (cf. *pris-cus*, &c.).	*semel* (from sem- 'one', Gk. *ἑῖς* for sems; Lat. *singuli, simplex*, &c.).
2. *duo* (I.-Eur. dŭō, Gk. *δύω* and *δύο*) in Compounds *bĭ-*, older *dŭi-*, I.-Eur. duĭ-, e. g. *bidens*).	*secundus* (lit. 'following'). *alter* ('other of two'; see ch. v. § 8).	*bis* from *duis*.
3. *tres* (I. Eur. treyes, Gk. *τρεῖς*, (in Compounds *trĭ-*, I-Eur. trĭ-, e. g. *tri-pes*).	*ter-tius*.	*ter* from **ters*.
4. *quattuor* from **quotvor(e)s* (I.-Eur. q^{u}etwor-, Dor. Gk. *τέτορες*).	*quartus*.	*quater* from q^{u}e-trŭs.

[1] In Late Latin this became *duī* (a Plural form); hence Ital. due (older dui), O. Fr. dui, doi, &c.

Card.	Ord.	Adv.
5. *quīnque* from **quenque* (I.-Eur. pĕnqᵘĕ, Gk. *πέντε*).	*quīn(c)tus.*	*quīnquie(n)s.*
6. *sĕx* (I.-Eur. sĕks and swĕks, Gk. *ἕξ*).	*sextus.*	*sexie(n)s.*
7. *septem* (I.-Eur. sĕptᵉm, Gk. *ἑπτά*).	*septimus.*	*septie(n)s.*
8. *ŏctō*, a Dual-form, lit. 'two sets of four' (I.-Eur. ŏktō, Gk. *ὀκτώ*).	*octāvus* for **octō-vus* (ch. x. § 8).	*octie(n)s.*
9. *nŏvem* (I.-Eur. nĕwᵉn, Gk. *ἐν-νέα*).	*nōnus.*	*novie(n)s.*
10. *dĕcem* (I.-Eur. dĕkᵉm, Gk. *δέκα*).	*decimus.*	*decie(n)s.*
20. *vīgintī* (I.-Eur. wi-(d)kᵉmti. a Dual-form, lit. 'two decades', Dor. Gk. *ϝείκατι*, Att. Gk. *εἴ-κοσι*).	*vīcēsimus*, older *vicensumus* for **vicent-tumus.*	*vīcie(n)s.*
30. *trīgintā*, lit. 'three decades', &c.		
100. *centum* (I.-Eur. (d)kᵉmtom, lit. 'a decade' [*sc.* of decades], Gk. *ἑ-κατόν*).		
1000. *mīlle*, originally a Neut. Sing. I-stem,[1] e. g. mille peditum, with Plur., e. g. tria milia peditum.		

Distributive Numerals have the suffix -no-, e. g. *bī-ni*, *ter-ni* and *trī-ni*, but the Distributive of *unus* is formed differently, *singuli* (from the root sem-, 'one', whence *semel*). Multiplicative Numerals have *-plex*, from the root plek-, 'to fold' (Lat. *im-plico*, Gk. *πλέκω*), e. g. *simplex* (like Scotch 'aefauld', i. e. one-fold, for 'honest'), and Proportional *-plus* (from the root pel-, 'to fill'), e. g. *simplus*. (On *quŏtus*, see ch. v. § 8.)

[1] Plautus has the Abl. *millī*. So in Old Latin *ducentum*, *trecentum*, &c. are used as Nouns with the Gen. of the thing specified, e. g. argenti sescentum, Lucilius.

CHAPTER V

THE PRONOUNS

§ 1. **Personal.** *Egŏ* represents an I.-Eur. ĕgō (Gk. ἐγώ). This was the I.-Eur. form used for the 1 Pers. Sing. Pronoun when subject to the verb, while another stem was employed for the same Pronoun when considered as object, viz. mĕ-. This me- is the stem of the Latin Dat. *mĭhĭ* (often pronounced as one syllable, *mī*, like *nīl* from *nihil*, ch. ii. § 6), which was in older Latin **mĕ-hei*, and of the Abl. *mē*, older *mēd* (ch. ii. § 9). The use of different stems in the Nom. and in the other cases is one of the peculiar features of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension, about which more information will be found below (§ 3). For the Accusative we find exactly the same form used in Latin as for the Abl., viz. *mē*, older *mēd*, so that the Abl. seems to have taken the place of the Acc. in Latin in much the same way as the Dat. 'him' took the place of the Acc. in English. For the Gen. the Gen. Sing. Neut. of the Possessive Pronoun is used, *mei*, e. g. *amicus mei*, lit. 'a friend of mine'; but in older Latin we find occasionally a Gen. formed with -ĕs, the Gen. Sing. Suffix of Nouns (ch. iii. § 1), viz. *mĭs*, as in this line of Ennius:

Ingens cura mis cum concordibus aequiperare,
'My earnest care to match with men like-hearted to me.'

We have thus:

Nom. *ego* (originally *egō*, then shortened to *egŏ*, ch. ii. § 16).

Gen. *mei* (Gen. Sg. Neut. of *meus*).

Dat. *mihi* (from *mĕ-hei*, ch. ii. § 14. On the second part *-hei*, see below on *tibi*).

Acc. *me* (really Abl.).

Abl. *me* (from *mēd*, with the Abl. Sing. Suffix *-d*, ch. iii. § 4; ii. § 9).

Tū represents an I.-Eur. tū, seen in the Homeric form *τῦ-νη*, while the ordinary Greek *σύ*, older *τύ*, represents an I.-Eur. tŭ. This is another feature of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension that forms with short and with long vowel are found side by side (cf. ch. ix. § 1). For the oblique cases the I.-Eur. stem was twĕ- and (when unemphatic) tĕ-. Lat. *tĭbĭ* was earlier **tĕ-bei*. The *b* which appears here and in the Dat. of the Reflexive Pronoun, *sibi*, may be a relic of a Pronoun-stem bhĕ-, so that *ti-bi* would be originally a Compound; and the *h* of *mi-hi* has been similarly referred to the Pronoun-stem ghĕ-, the same as appears in the Demonstrative *hic* (§ 3). The other cases have the same formation as the 1 Pers. Sing. Pronoun; and like Gen. *mīs* beside *mei*, we have in the older literature a Gen. *tis*[1] beside *tui*.

[1] If the reading of the MSS. is right in Plaut. Mil. 1033 an anapaestic line:

quia tis egeat, quia té careat,

the scansion is *tīs*. Some make the true forms *mīs*, *tīs*, and derive them from the old Locative (Gk. *μοι*, *σοι*), which in Hom. often plays the part of a Gen. (e. g. *μητέρι μοι*). In Latin these Enclitics would become **mī*, **tī* and (with a perverse addition of the Gen. ending) *mī-s*, *tī-s*.

Nom. *tū* (the I.-Eur. form, unchanged).

Gen. *tui* (Gen. Sg. Neut. of *tuus*, meaning literally 'of thine').

Dat. *tibi* (from **te-bei*), with the same change of *tĕ-* to *tĭ-*, through the unaccented use of the word, ch. ii. § 14, as of *mĕ-* to *mĭ-* in *mihi*).

Acc. *te* (really Abl.).

Abl. *te* (from *tēd*).

In the First Plural Pronoun the one I.-Eur. stem nĕ- (nŏ-) (Gk. *νῶι* Dual, *ἡμεῖς* from I.-Eur. n°s-me-, Engl. us from I.-Eur. n°s), is used in Latin to the exclusion of the other stem wĕ- (wŏ-) (Engl. we). *Nōs* is perhaps properly Acc. and not Nom. *Nō-bīs*, older *no-beis*, adds to **nobei* (cf. **te-bei*, **se-bei*) the plural suffix *-s*. For the Genitive, besides the Gen. Sing. Neut. of the Possessive, *nostri*, e. g. amicus nostri, lit. 'a friend of ours', the Gen. Plur. was used, *nostrum* or *nostrorum*; and it came to be the rule that the latter form should be employed whenever the idea of plurality was strongly present. Thus we have *omnium nostrum* (in Plautus *omnium nostrorum*) 'of all of us', *pars nostrum* (*pars nostrorum*) 'a part of us', &c. Obsolete forms are (1) of the Dat. Abl. *nis*, with *-is* of Second Declension Nouns (ch. iii. § 6), (2) of the Acc. *enos*, in the Hymn of the Arval Brothers:

Enos, Lases, iuuate;
Enos, Marmor, iuuato,
'Nos, Lares, juvate; nos, Mars, juvato.'

Nom. *nos* (perhaps properly Acc.).

Gen. *nostri*, *nostrum* (really Gen. Sing. Neut. and Gen. Plur. of the Possessive).

Dat. Abl. *nōbīs* (older *no-bei-s*, with the suffix *-bei* of *ti-bi*, *si-bi* increased by the plural suffix *-s*).

Acc. *nos*.

Vōs shows the I.-Eur. 2 Plur. stem wĕ- (wŏ-); for the other I.-Eur. stem yu- (Gk. *ὑ-μεῖς*, Engl. you) was, like the I.-Eur. 1 Plur. stem wĕ- (wŏ-), discarded in Latin. Its declension is similar to that of *nos*.

Nom. *vos* (perhaps properly Acc.).

Gen. *vestri*, *vestrum* (Gen. Sing. Neut. and Gen. Plur. of the Possessive).

Dat. Abl. *vobis* (older *vo-bei-s*).

Acc. *vos*.

The Reflexive Pronoun (I.-Eur. stem swĕ- and, when unaccented, sĕ-) is similarly declined; but we have no Old Lat. Gen. **sis*, like *mis* and *tis*, and (a common feature of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension) the same forms are used for the Singular and for the Plural.

Gen. *sui* (Gen. Sg. Neut. of *suus*, lit. 'of his', 'of theirs').

Dat. *sĭbi* (from **sĕ-bei*, as *tibi* from **te-bei*, on which see above).

Acc. *se* (really Abl.).

Abl. *se* (from *sēd*).

§ 2. **Possessive.** *Meus* is I.-Eur. mĕyŏs (ch. x. § 13; ch. xi. § 3), *tuus*, older **touos*, I.-Eur. tĕwŏs (ch. x. § 4; ch. ii. § 15), *suus*, older *souos*, I.-Eur. sĕwŏs. From the Relative and Interrogative Pronoun was formed after the same type *cujus*, older **quoiios*, a form which was avoided by purists under the idea that it was nothing but the Gen. Sg. *cujus* used by vulgar error as an Adjective,

cujus, -a, -um. Virgil however stamped the form with his approval in the line (*Ecl.* iii. 1):

Dic mihi, Damoeta, cujum pecus? An Meliboei?

a line which his critics parodied:

Dic mihi, Damoeta, 'cujum pecus' anne Latinum?
'Tell me, Damoetas, is "cujum pecus" good Latin?'

Beside I.-Eur. sĕwŏs (Gk. ἑός) there was another I.-Eur. form swŏs (Gk. ὅς for *σϝος), which may appear in O. Lat. forms like *sas, sis*, as in a line of Ennius (imitated by Lucretius iii. 1025):

Postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Anceu' reliquit.

These must not be confused with O. Lat. *sas, sos* for *eas, eos* (§ 3), but it is not impossible that we have here merely Ennius' spelling of that monosyllabic pronunciation of (unaccented) *suas, suis*, &c., which we find in this line of Lucretius (v. 420):

Ordine se suo quaeque sagaci mente locarunt.

In this line the *u* of *suo* was pronounced [1] like our *w*, and similarly the *e* of *meo, meos*, &c., was pronounced like our *y* in such a line as that of the old Scipio epitaph (a dactylic Hexameter):

Virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulaui,
'I made my character crown the merits of our race.'

For the Possessive of the Plural Pronouns the suffix used was -tĕrŏ- (Gk. ἡμέ-τερος); so 1 Pl. *nŏs-ter*, 2 Pl. *ves-ter*, older *vŏs-ter* (ch. x. § 8).

These Possessives are really Adjectives, not Pronouns, and properly belong to chapter iv. They have the

[1] Or else (under the Breves Breviantes Law, ch. ii. § 16) *sŭŏ*.

ordinary Adjective declension, the only point that calls for mention being the Voc. Sing. Masc. of *meus*, which is *mī*, for **mei(e)*, the apocopated[1] form (as *dic* of *dice*). On the use of their Gen. Neut. as Gen. of the Personal Pronouns see the last paragraph.

Both the Possessive Adjectives and the Personal Pronouns are often strengthened by the addition of the Particles *-mĕt*, *-ptĕ* (on which see § 3), e.g. *ego-met*, *tibi-met*, *sibi-met*, *nos-met*, *vos-met*, *mea-met*, *suis-met*, *mihi-pte*, *meāpte*, *suo-pte*. *Tu* often adds the Particle -tĕ, and becomes *tū-tĕ* (cf. *tu-ti-met*, ch. ii. § 13), a form not to be confounded with Acc. *tē-tē*; for this Acc. form is merely the Acc. *tē* doubled for the sake of emphasis (cf. *sē-sē*).

§ 3. **Demonstrative.** There was a great variety of Demonstrative Pronoun-stems in I.-Eur., some of which appear in some languages as Adverbs, Conjunctions and Particles only, but as Pronouns in others. Thus the stem kĕ- (kŏ-) appears in Latin in the Adverb *ce-* of *cĕ-do*, 'give here', and in the Particle *-ce* of *hujus-ce*, *illis-ce*, &c., but in English it supplies the ordinary Third Sing. Pronoun 'he'; and on the other hand the stem ghĕ- (ghŏ-) of Lat. *hĭ-c* (O. Lat. *hĕ-c*), *ho-c* appears as a Particle in Greek *οὐ-χί*, *ναι-χί*. Latin Conjunctions like *nam*, *nem-pe*, *e-nim*, *dum* are all descendants of I.-Eur. Pronoun-stems which in other I.-Eur. languages appear as actual Pronouns; and so are Latin Particles like *-pĕ*

[1] The full form **meĭe* would become *mē*, which is perhaps preserved in *mē-castor*, *mē-hercle* (from **mē-hercle*), unless these are Accusatives, 'me Castor juvet,' &c. Plautus uses *meus* with a Second Decl. Noun whose Nom. is used for a Vocative, e.g. *Asin.* 664 da, méus ocellus, méa rosa, mi ănime, mea uolúptas.

of *nem-pe, quippe, -dem* of *ejus-dem, ibi-dem, -tem* of *au-tem, i-tem*, &c., as well as the Pronominal Particles mentioned in the preceding paragraph *-pte, -met*, and the like.

The stems used in Latin for Demonstrative Pronouns are:

(1) I.-Eur. sĕ- (sŏ-), which seems to have been originally confined to Nom. Sg. Masc. and Fem., a stem tĕ- (tŏ-) being used elsewhere (Gk. ὁ and ὅς, for *σο, *σός, Masc., ἡ, for *σᾱ, Fem., τό, for *τοδ, Neut., τόν Acc. Sg. Masc., &c.). This stem is found independently in the Old Latin Demonstrative *sam* 'eam', *sos* 'eos', *sum* 'eum', as in this line of Ennius:

Constitit inde loci propter sos dia dearum,
'Then (*inde loci*) the heavenly goddess took her stand beside them.'

But in classical Latin it appears in independent form only as an Adverb or Conjunction, *tum, tam*, &c.; while in Pronouns it is always a pendant to some other stem, e. g. *ille* for **ol-se*, where it is a pendant to the stem *ol-* (see below), *is-te*, &c.

(2) I.-Eur. ghĕ- (ghŏ-) supplies Lat. *hĭc* Masc., from O. Lat. *hĕ-c*,[1] *haec* Fem., for *hai-c*, *hoc* Neut., for **hod-c*, all augmented by the Particle *-ce*. The scansion of *hic* as a long syllable, e. g. Virg.

Manibusque meis Mezentius hic est,

represents a pronunciation 'hĭcc', which followed the lead of 'hŏcc' (cf. *hocci-ne*) for **hŏd-c*. *Illĭcc* and *hŏcc* would be the pronunciation before vowels, *hĭc* and *hŏc*

[1] This form is found on a Scipio epitaph:
Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe,
'hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem.'

before consonants (cf. ch. ii. § 9 on these doublets). But *hic* with a long *i* was an Adverb, 'here', and *hoc* with long *o* was the Ablative. The unaccented use of the Demonstrative (ch. ii. § 11) led to the change of O. Lat. *hĕc* to class. Lat. *hīc* (ch. ii. § 14), and similarly of the Neut. *hoc* (*hŏcc*) to *huc* (*hŭcc*), though the last form came to be reserved for the Adverbial sense of 'to this place', 'hither', e. g. *huc venio*, in Plautus *hoc uenio* (ch. ix. § 5). The *i* of *hai-c* is a peculiarity of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension (cf. *quae*, O. Lat. *quai*, Fem. Sg. of the Pron. stem $q^{u}o$-, § 6).

(3) I.-Eur. ŏl- (Lat. *ŭl-tra*, *ŭl-timus*; see ch. viii. § 41), a grade of the root ăl- of Lat. *al-ius*, Gk. ἄλλος, appears with the I.-Eur. stem sĕ- (sŏ-) appended in Lat. *ille* from **ol-se*. (On the change of *ls* to *ll*, as in *velle* for **vel-se*, see ch. x. § 19.) The Neuter we should expect to be **ultud* from **ol-tod*; but this form was adapted to the pattern of the Masc. and Fem. and became *ollud*, class. *illud*. The change of *o* to *i* must be referred to the unaccented use of this Pronoun, which culminated in its reduction to a mere Definite Article[1] in late Latin (ch. ii. § 11). *Ille*, older *olle*, seems to stand for an original ŏl-sŏ, with weakening of final *ŏ* to *ĕ* (ch. ii. § 14), sŏ being one form of the Nom. Sing. Masc. in I.-Eur. (Gk. ὁ for

[1] This is united with the Preposition into one word in the Romance languages, e. g. Ital. al, Fr. au (for *ad illum*), Ital. del, Fr. du (for *de illo*). Even in Plautus we find *illum* (for *em illum*) which survives in Ital. ello. For the Demonstratives the Romance languages use Compounds with *ecce* which appear as early as Plautus, e. g. *eccillam* (Ital. quella, Fr. celle), *eccistam* (Ital. questa, Fr. cette).

*σο). The other form sŏs (Gk. *ὅς* for **σος*, 'he') appears in O. Lat. *ollus* for ŏl-sŏs, but **illus* was discarded in the classical language (cf. below on *ipse* and *ipsus*).

(4) From I.-Eur. ĭ- (ei-) and ĕyŏ- (Engl. it) comes the Latin 'Anaphoric' Pronoun (i. e. the pronoun which refers to something previously mentioned) *ĭs* Masc., *ĕa* Fem., from ĕyā (ch. x. § 13), *ĭd* Neut. Augmented by a combination of the Particle *-pĕ* with the Pronoun-stem sĕ- (sŏ-), a combination which expresses 'self', it forms the Latin Pronoun of Identity, *ipse* M. for ĭ-p(ĕ)-sŏ, *ipsa* F., *ipsum*[1] N. In class. Latin the first part of this combination remains undeclined in its bare stem-form *i-psa*, *i-psum*, &c., but in the earlier literature we have declension of the first part with or without declension of the second, e. g. *ea-pse* (and *ea-psa?*), *eum-pse* (and *eum-psum?*). Augmented by the Particle *-dem* it expresses 'the same', *īdem*, older *ĭs-dem*, Masc. (ch. x. § 19), *ea-dem* Fem., *ĭdem* (not **id-dem*) Neut.

The Declension of these stems followed the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension, which, as we have seen, was very different from the Noun or Adj. Declension, though it became more and more assimilated to this in course of time, and in Greek had come to be almost identical. It is this Greek assimilation of the Pronoun- to the Noun-Declension which makes the Greek Pronouns easier for

[1] We should expect **iptud*. Like O. Lat. *ollus* beside *olle* (class. *ill*) is O. Lat. *ipsus* beside *ipse*. Plautus seems to use the form *ipsus* where special emphasis is intended. Since the extrusion of *s* in *i s pse*, *i s)psus* (see ch. x. § 20) would be the natural result of Latin Phonetic laws, perhaps *is*, and not the bare stem i-, was the first part of *ipse* (as of *īdem*).

a school-boy to learn than the Latin. The Nom. Acc. Sg. Neut. was formed, not like O-stem Nouns in *-m*, e. g. *donum*, but in *-d*, e. g. *is-tud* (I.-Eur. tŏd, Gk. τό for *τοδ), *illud*; the Nom. Sing. Fem. (with which went the Nom. Acc. Plur. Neut.; see ch. iii. § 2) ended in -ai, e. g. O. Lat. *hai-ce*, class. *haec*; while for the Nom. Sing. Masc. the bare stem was used, e. g. Lat. *hic*, for ghĕ- with Particle *-ce*, *ille* (O. Lat. *olle*) for ŏl-sŏ (Gk. ὁ for *σο). But the Noun-endings were used side by side with these from a very early time, e. g. I.-Eur. sŏs M. (Gk. ὅς 'he' for *σος), sā F. (Gk. ἡ for *σᾱ), and so we find in Latin *illa*, for ol-sā, beside O. Lat. *illaec*, for ol-sai with Particle *-ce*, and along with O. Lat. *olle* we have O. Lat. *ollus*, for ol-sŏs. (Cf. O. Lat. *ipsus* beside *ipse*, class. *ista* beside O. Lat. *istaec*, *ip-sum* Neut., &c.) The suffix -oi, -ei (the Loc. Sing. suffix of Noun O-stems, ch. iii. § 6) was in the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension used in a case which seems to have acted not only as a Locative but also as a Dative and as a Genitive. Thus Greek μοι, which we call a Dative, has the function of a Genitive in such a phrase as μητέρι μοι 'to my mother'. In Latin *illi*, older *ol-lei* from ol-soi or ol-sei (ch. ii. § 14), was both Dative 'to him' and Locative 'in that place', 'there', and though by the classical period it had been found convenient to distinguish the two uses by restricting *illi* to the Dat. sense, and the form with the Particle *-ce*, *illīc*, to the Loc., this distinction is unknown to Plautus, who uses *illi* and *illic* equally as Dat. and as Loc. The Genitive received a distinguishing mark in Latin by the addition of the Noun Gen. Sing.

suffix -ŏs (ch. iii. § 1) to this Dat.-Loc.-Gen. form, *hujus* (pronounced hŭyyus, ch. ii. § 3), older **hoios*, from **hoi* with an appended -os; so *ejus* (pronounced ĕyyus) from *ei*, *illius*[1] from *illi*, &c. In the rapid utterance of ordinary speech these new Genitives assumed, when unaccented (ch. ii. § 11), the pronunciation[2] *illīs*, *istīs*, *ipsīs*, *hūīs*, *eīs*. Thus we have *illī(u)s modi* (four syllables) Ter. *Ad.* 441, or in one word *illimodi* (cf. *cuicuimodi*), with *s* dropped before *m* as in *primus* for **prismus* (ch. x. § 19). The Nom. Plur. Masc. suffix of O-stem pronouns, viz. -oi, was in Latin (as in Greek) borrowed by O-stem Nouns (see ch. iii. § 6).

Scheme of the Demonstrative Pronoun Declension.

Sing.

(Stem ghĕ-, ghŏ-)	(Compound of Stems ŏl- and sŏ-)	(Stem ei-, ĭ-)
Nom. M. *hĭc*, O. Lat. *hĕc* (for ghĕ with Particle *-ce*).	*ille*, O. Lat. *olle* (from ol-sŏ) (also O. Lat. **ollos*, *ollus* from ol-sŏs).	*is* (ĭ with Noun Nom. Sg. suffix -s).
F. *haec*, O. Lat. *haic* (from ghai with *-ce*).	*illa*, O. Lat. *olla* (from ol-sā) (also *illaec* O. Lat. **ollaic* like *haic*).	*ea* (from ey-ā).
N. *hoc* (from **hŏd* with *-ce*).	*illud*, O. Lat. **ollod*, *ollud* (from ol-sŏd).	*id* (the I.-Eur. form unchanged).

[1] Originally *illīus*, then through the Latin shortening of a long vowel before another vowel, *illĭus*. *Alterĭus* is found in dramatic verse as well as *alterīus*, though the long penult could not appear in dactylic poetry.

[2] Some explain these as actual formations like *mīs* (see p. 70 *n.*), *tīs* 'of me', 'of thee'. A great part of the Pronoun Declension is still obscure to us.

Scheme of the Demonstrative Pronoun Declension.

Sing. (continued).

		(Stem ghĕ-, ghŏ-)	(Compound of Stems ŏl- and sŏ-)	(Stem ei-, ì-)
Gen.		*huius*, O. Lat. **hoios* (with addition of Gen. suffix -ŏsto Dat.).	*illius* (from Dat. *illi* with -ŏs).	*ejus* (from Dat. *ei* with -ŏs).
Dat.		*huic*, O. Lat. *hoic*[1] (origin uncertain).	*illi*, O. Lat. **olloi, ollei* (from ol-sci).	*ei*, O. Lat. *eiei, eei*[2] (origin uncertain).
Acc.	M.	*hunc*, O. Lat. *honc* (from **hom* with -*ce*).	*illum*, O. Lat. **ollom* (from ol-som).	*eum*, O. Lat. *eom* (from eyom).
	F.	*hanc* (from **ham* with -*ce*).	*illam*.	*eam*.
Abl.	M.	*hoc* (from **hōd* with -*ce*).	*illo*, O. Lat. **ollōd* (from ol-sōd).	*eo*, O. Lat. *eod* (from eyōd).
	F.	*hac* (from **hād* with -*ce*).	*illa*.	*ea*.
Loc.		*hīc*, O. Lat. *heic* (from **hei* with -*ce*).	*illīc*, O. Lat. *ollei, olleic* (from ol-sei).	

Plur.

Nom.	M.	*hi*, O. Lat. **hoi* and (unaccented) *hei*.	*illī* O. Lat. **olloi, ollei* (from ol-soi).	*ei* (from ey-oi).
	F.	*hae*, O. Lat. **hai* and *haic*.	*illae*.	*eae*
	N.	*haec*, O. Lat. **hai* and *haic*.	*illa* (with Neut. Pl. ending).	*ea*.
Gen.	M.	*horum* (from ghō-sōm).	*illorum*, O. Lat. *olloroṁ* (ch. viii. § 28)	*eorum*.
	F.	*harum* (from ghā-sōm).	*illarum*, O. Lat. *ollarum*.	*earum*.

[1] In Plautus the word occasionally makes a spondee, *hūic*. In Silver Age poetry it appears as two short syllables, *hŭic* (and similarly *cui* as *cŭĭ*).

[2] In Plautus there are three (or four) scansions, *ēi*, *ēī*, *êi*. (or *eī*; this last under the Law of Breves Breviantes, ch. ii. § 16`; in Lucretius *eī* only; in Ovid *êi*. We find *êi* in Catullus (lxxxii. 3): Eripere ei noli 'do not snatch from him'

Plur. (continued).

(Stem ghĕ-, ghŏ-)	(Compound of Stems ŏl- and sŏ-)	(Stem ei-, ī-)
Dat. Abl. M. *his*, O. Lat. **hois* and (unaccented) *heis*.	*illis*, O. Lat. *ollois*, which became *olleis*.	*eis*.
F. *his*, O. Lat. **hais* and (unaccented) *heis*.	*illis*, O. Lat. **ollais*, *olleis*.	
Acc. M. *hos* (from gho^{n}s).	*illos*.	*eos*.
F. *has* (from gha^{n}s).	*illas*.	*eas*.

§ 4. **The Particle -ce.** This Particle, as we have seen, belongs to the stem kĕ-, kŏ- (Gk. ἐκεῖ, a Locative Adverb, Lat. *citer*, *cĕ-do*, Engl. he, him). It is employed as an enclitic Particle in other languages of the I.-Eur. family beside Latin; for example, the *gh* of our 'though' is nothing but this appended -kĕ. It conveyed the sense of 'here', so that *hosce* beside *hos* in Latin is much like 'these here' beside 'these' in English, and the addition of the particle would not make any perceptible difference in the sense. In the earlier authors we find *-ce* added or withheld at will; *illĕ* and *illīc* (ch. ii. § 14), *illum* and *illunc*, *illud* and *illuc*, &c., stand side by side in the pages of Plautus and Terence, as *tum* and *tunc* in classical Latin. But by Cicero's time the forms with *-ce* have been made use of to distinguish synonyms. To Plautus *illī* and *illīc* were synonyms in the senses 'to him' or 'in that place'. The classical writers reserve *illī* for the first, *illīc* for the second sense. Similarly *illud* 'that thing' was distinguished from *illuc* 'to that place', *hae* 'these women' from *haec* 'these things'.[1] The particle clung closest, as was natural, to the Demonstrative *hic* 'this', of which only the *ce*-forms are found in the Nom. Sing. Masc. *hīc* (never *hī*), Fem. *haec* (never *hae* or *ha*), Neut. *hoc* (never *hod*), Dat. Sing. *huic*, Acc. Sing. Masc. *hunc* (never *hum*), *hanc* (never *ham*), and so on.[2]

[1] Virgil has the old form in *Georg.* iii. 305:

Haec quoque non cura nobis leviore tuendae.

[2] Without the Particle *ce* this Pronoun appears in *hōdie* (for **hō die*; on the shortening, see p. 41), *eccum* (for *ecce *hum*, with elision of *-e*). Suetonius' ridiculous explanation of the origin of the term

The tendency of Latin pronunciation to syncope of final *-ĕ* (ch. ii. § 12) reduced *-ce* to *-c*, but the full form of the Particle is seen, for example, when the Interrogative *-ne* is added, *hicī-ne*, *hoccī-ne* (on the change of *-ĕ* to *-ī-* see ch. ii. § 14 *n.*).

§ 5. O. Lat. forms of the Demonstratives. A Nom. Plur. Masc. *hīs*, older *heis* (*hisce*, *heisce*) is found on inscriptions and in Plautus and even, according to the Grammarians, in Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 102 :

His certe, neque amor causa est, vix ossibus haerent.

Plautus uses this Nom. Plur. Masc. (always with *-ce* added), *hisce* (also *illisce*, *istisce*) before a word beginning with a vowel, but only *hi* (also *illi*, *isti*) before a word beginning with a consonant, e. g. *hisce homines*, *hi viri*.

A Dat.-Abl. *hībus* occurs in Plautus *Curc.* 506 : parissumi estis hibus, like *ībus*, from *is*, in Plaut. *Mil.* 74 ibus dinumerem stipendium.

The old form *ollus* was still used in Cicero's time in the announcement of a public funeral : *ollus leto datus est, Quirites* ; and when the herald made his proclamation at the elections he used the phrase *olla centuria* and not 'illa centuria', just as we keep up the old Norman French 'oyez, oyez' in Royal Proclamations. Virgil and the later Epic poets are fond of the forms *olli*, *ollis*, e. g. Virg. *A.* i. 254 :

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum,

a line in which some of the Latin commentators understood *olli* as an Adverb with the sense of 'at that time', 'then'. *Ōlim*, an Adverb derived from a by-stem ōl-, had originally this meaning, 'at that time', e. g. Plaut. *Truc.* 65 olim quom caletur maxime 'at the hottest time of the year'.

An early Acc. Sg. Masc. of *is*, viz. *im* or *em*, is preserved in that clause of the Twelve Tables which gives directions how to subpoena a witness ; si in ius uocat, ni it, antestamino ; igitur em capito, 'If A summon B and B refuses to go, A must first take a bystander to witness (*antestamino* for *ante-testamino*), then lay hands on B.'

§ 6. Relative, Indefinite, and Interrogative.

The I.-Eur. Relative-stem yo- (Gk. ὅς for **yos*) does not supply the Latin Relative, which shows the stem q^{u}o-,

sīca, a short sword, stiletto, shows us that plebeian Latin used *ha* for *hac*. A gladiator had his sword broken in a combat but refused the offer of a new one, saying *sic ha pugnabo* 'I'll fight with this as it is.'

a stem originally proper (with $q^u i$-, $q^u u$-) to the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns (Gk. *τίς*; and *τις, ποῦ*; and *που*, Engl. who?) but used also as a Relative (Engl. who). I.-Eur. $q^u o$-, $q^u i$-, $q^u u$- appear in the Latin *qui?*, *quis?*, *si-quis*, *ali-cubi*, &c. We may roughly distinguish *quī* (stem $q^u o$-) as the Relative, *quĭs* (stem $q^u i$-) as the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun, though the stems frequently overlap; e.g. in the Latin of Cato and the earliest inscriptions *quēs* is the Nom. Pl. of the Indefinite, *qui* (*quei*) of the Relative[1]; but in class. Lat. both are *quī*. In the Dramatists *quis* is the Fem. of the Interrog., *quae* of the Relative, but *qui*, the I-stem Abl., which probably was originally confined to the Interrog.-Indef. use, is also Relative, e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 477 psaltriam parauit, quicum uiuat, and *queis*, later written *quīs* (ch. x. § 11), which was originally Rel. only, is also Interrog.-Indef. The I-declension Neuter Pl. *quia* survives only as a Conjunction (ch. ix. § 12). In the Italic languages[2] (as in Celtic and elsewhere) a curious declension of the Relative (and Interrogative) was in vogue, a case-form of the Relative-stem being prefixed to a Demonstrative, like modern Greek *ποῦ τόν* for *ὅν* in such a sentence as *αὐτὸς εἶνε ὁ ἄνδρας ποῦ τὸν εἶδα*, 'that is the man whom I saw'. The old spelling of the Dat. Sg. of *qui*, viz. *quoiei*, may

[1] Cato began his *Origines* with the words: siques homines sunt, quos delectat populi Romani gesta discribere; and on the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, an inscr. of Plautus' time, we have: sei ques esent, quei sibei deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, 'siqui essent, qui sibi dicerent necesse esse Bacchanal habere.'

[2] Even in Plautus we find (Trin. 1023) *quorum eorum unus* 'one of whom', (Cist. 691, *quae illa* for *quae*, (Pseud. 226) *quae ea* for *quae*.

show it to be a compound of this kind, if it has for its second element the Dat. Sg. of *is* (O. Lat. *eiei*), so that *quoiei* would represent *quō-eiei*; and Gen. Sg. *quoiios*, then *quoius* (class. *cujus*), would consequently represent *quō-eius*. Whether this method of declension was used in other instances in Latin is not clear. Another feature of the Italic Relative is its tendency to append the Pronominal Particle *ī* (of Gk. *οὗτος-ī*, &c.); and this is utilized in Latin as the discriminating mark of the Nom. Sg. Masc. of the Relative, *quī* (O. Lat. *quoi*) from *quo-ī*. On the Possessive *cujus, -a, -um*, older *quoius, -a, -um*, with stem q^{u}o-yo- formed by means of the Adjective-suffix yo- (ch. xi. § 3) from the stem q^{u}o-, see above (§ 2).

Singular.

	Relative.	Interrogative-Indefinite.
Nom. M.	*qui*, O. Lat. *quoi* (from q^{u}o, the bare stem, with the Particle ī).	*quis* (from stem q^{u}i- with Noun Nom. Sing. suffix -s) and as an Adj. *qui*.[1]
F.	*quae*, O. Lat. *quai* (from q^{u}ai).	*quae*, and as an Adj. *qua* (with the Nom. Sing. ending of the Adj. Decl.) [in O. Lat. *quis* (stem q^{u}i-)].
N.	*quod* (Pronominal Neuter of stem q^{u}o-).	*quid* (Pronominal Neuter of stem q^{u}i-).
Gen.	*cujus*, O. Lat. *quoios* (possibly from *quō* Instr. with appended **eios* Gen. of *is*).	
Dat.	*cui*, O. Lat. *quoiei* (possibly from *quō* Instr. with appended *eiei* Dat. of *is*). *Quoi* was still the spelling in Quintilian's youth.	
Acc. M.	*quem* (stem q^{u}i-).	
F.	*quam*.	
Abl. M. F.	*quo* (stem q^{u}o-) *qua*	[and in O. Lat. *qui* (stem q^{u}i-)].

[1] The distinction of *qui* Adj. (e. g. qui homo venit?) and *quis* Pron. (e. g. quis venit?) is later than Plautus.

Plural.

Nom.	M.	*qui*, O. Lat. *quoi* and (in unaccented use) *quei* (stem q^uo-).	[in O. Lat. *ques* (stem q^ui-) for Interrog.-Indef. only].
	F.	*quae*, O. Lat. *quai* (same as Sing.).	
	N.	*quae*, O. Lat. *quai* (same as Fem. Sing.).	
Gen.	M.	*quorum* (stem q^uo-).	
	F.	*quarum* (stem q^uo-).	
Dat Abl.		*quibus* (stem q^ui-) [O. Lat. **quois*, which in unaccented use became first *queis*, then *quīs*, comes from stem q^uo-, and was originally Rel. only].	
Acc.	M.	*quos* (stem q^uo-)	[O. Lat. *quīs* (stem q^ui-) for Interrog.-Indef. only].
	F.	*quas* (stem q^uo-)	

§ 7. Derivatives of the Rel. and Interrog.-Indef. Pronouns are:

ali-quis, a compound of the stem *ali-*, some (connected with *alio-*, other), and the Indef. Pron.; *ec-quis*, which prefixes **ece* (connected with *ecce*) to *quis*[1]; *quis-nam*, which appends the Interrogative Particle *nam* (ch. ix. § 6) to the Interrog., as *quī-dam* (for **quis-dam*, like *idem* for *is-dem*) appends a similar Particle from the Pronoun-stem do- (§ 3) to the Indefinite; *quī-vis* adds *vis*, you wish, and *quī-libet* adds *lubet* (*libet*), it pleases; on the appendage *-cumque* of *quicumque*, see ch. ix. § 2; *quisque*, each, has in Old Latin the sense of *quicumque*,[2] e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 798 quemque offendero 'whomever I come across'; *quis-quam*, any, lit. 'any-how', was used especially in negative sentences, its I-stem Abl. being employed as an Adv. in *nē-quīquam*, in vain, lit. 'not anyhow'; *quis-piam* is a Compound of

[1] Some say it is merely *et quis*. It is often so spelt in MSS.

[2] So had the simple Indefinite *quis*, e.g. in an old plebiscitum: eum quis uolet magistratus multare, dum minore parti familias taxsat, liceto, 'what magistrate soever desires to fine him, may do so up to less than half of his belongings.'

**quispe* (the I-stem Abl. of which is the Adverb *quippe*, for *quīpe*) with *jam*, as *nunciam* of *nunc* with *jam*.

§ 8. **The Pronominal Adjectives.** These are:

(1) *ălius* from I.-Eur. ălyo- (Gk. ἄλλος) with by-forms[1] *alis* in Nom. Sg. Masc. and *alid* in Nom. Sg. Neut. (cf. *Cornelis* for *Cornelius*, ch. iii. § 6). The derivative Adj. *alienus* is for *ali-ĭno-* (by Dissimilation) with the suffix *-ĭno-* (ch. xi. § 5).

(2) *alter* is formed from the root al-, seen in ălyo-, by the addition of the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8), while other I.-Eur. languages show a similar formation from the root an- (Germ. an-der, Engl. o-ther, from 'on-ther'). It is often used (like O. Engl. ôđer) as an Ordinal Numeral, 'second'. We still say 'every other man I meet'.

(3) *ūllus* is formed with the LO-suffix (ch. xi. § 9) from *ūnus* (see ch. iv. § 4), which also belongs to the Pronoun Declension, Gen. *unius*, Dat. *uni*. The opposite of *ullus* is *nūllus* with the negative prefix *nĕ-* of *n-usquam*, *n(e)-utiquam* (ch. ix. § 17); and *ullus* was coined on the type of *nūllus*, **ne-ullus*, 'not a little one', 'not even one', so that there was a time in Latin when *nullus* was in use but not *ullus*. Like *nullus*, but used properly of persons, while *nullus* was used normally of things, is *nēmo* from **nĕ-hĕmo*.[2] (On *hemo*, a by-form of *homo*, see ch. iii. § 8 *n.*) *Nullus* is scarcely used as a substantive till late Latin, but

[1] e. g. Catullus lxvi. 28: quod non fortior ausit alis.
Lucretius i. 263: quando alid ex alio reficit natura.
Since these by-forms do not appear till the end of the Republic, some prefer to regard them as formed on the analogy of *is*, *quis*, and to have arisen from such combinations as *quis alius? quid aliud?*

[2] Plautus' *nemo homo* is therefore a Pleonasm.

nullius and *nullo* take the place of *neminis* and *nemine* in class. Latin. As the Neuter of *nullus nĭhĭl* (usually pronounced *nīl*) is employed, a compound of the negative *nĕ-* and *hīlum*. (On the scansion *nihĭl*, earlier *nihīl*, see ch. iii. § 16.)

(4) *sōlus* seems connected with the Adverb *sē*, *sēd-*, apart (e.g. *sēd-itio*, lit. 'a going apart'), and may be formed from *sō-*, a grade of *sē-* (see ch. x. § 12) with the suffix -lo (ch. xi. § 9).

(5) *tōtus* may be connected with the I.-Eur. teutā, 'a community', whence the name Teuton, and be derived from the root teu-, 'to swell', 'be large' (cf. Lat. *tumeo*).

(6) *ŭter* is one of those Latin Relative (Interrog.-Indef.) forms beginning with *u-* (cf. *ubi*, *ut*) which seem to come from the stem $q^u u$- (§ 6). With the addition of *-que*, ever (cf. O. Lat. *quisque*, § 7), it becomes *uterque*. The opposite of *uter* is *neuter* (a trisyllable) with the negative prefix *nĕ-* of *nĕqueo*, &c. *Alteruter* is a compound of *alter* and *uter*, sometimes with both elements declined, sometimes with the second only (cf. § 3 on *ipse*).

All of these take the Pronominal Gen. and Dat. Sg. in *-ius* and *-i*, but only *alius* takes the Neut. Sg. (Nom.-Acc.) in *-d*, *aliud* (cf. Gk. ἄλλο for *ἄλλοδ). True to their Adjectival character however they admitted more readily than *ille*, *iste* and the other Demonstrative Pronouns the Noun Declension forms in these cases, e.g. *unae rei* (Gen.), Cic.; *tam nulli consili*, Ter.; *coloris ulli*, Plaut.; *alterae legioni*, Caes. For the Gen. Sing. of *alius* the Romans discarded *alĭus*, which was liable to confusion with the Nom., and used instead the Possessive Adj.

alienus or else the Gen. Sing. of *alter, alterĭus.* (On the scansion see § 3 *n.*)

There are other Adjectives called 'Pronominal' Adjectives, because they are derived from Pronoun-stems. These, like the Possessives (§ 2), belong to the Adjective Declension. From the stem to-, te- comes Lat. *tālis* (I.-Eur. tāli-; cf. Gk. *τηλί-κος*), *tan-tus*,[1] *tŏt*, older *tŏtĭ-*, preserved in *toti-dem* (I.-Eur. tŏtĭ-; cf. Gk. *τόσ(σ)ος* for **τοτιος*), and (with O-suffix, ch. xi. § 2) *tŏtus* (e.g. Manilius iii. 420: detrahitur summae tota pars, quota demitur). From the Relative (Interrog.-Indef.) stem comes Lat. *quālis* (Gk. *πηλί-κος*), *quantus*,[1] *quŏt*, older *quŏtĭ-* (I.-Eur. q^{u}ŏtĭ-; cf. Gk. *πόσ(σ)ος* for **ποτιος*), and (with O-suffix) *quŏtus* (e.g. Horace *Epp.* i. 5. 30: tu quotus esse velis rescribe, 'write back how many other guests you wish to meet you', lit. 'which number in the series you wish to be'). *Cottīdie* may come from **quŏtĭtus*, a by-form, and stand for *quot(i)ti-die*, with Syncope of *ĭ*. (On *cĕ-teri*, see ch. ix. § 4, and on *ambō*, a Dual like the Numeral *duō*, ch. iii. § 1.)

[1] The misuse of *tanti, quanti* in the sense of *tot, quot*, which has produced the Romance words for 'so many', 'how many', is as old as Propertius (e.g. quanta milia).

CHAPTER VI

THE VERB

§ 1. **Thematic and Athematic.** The I.-Eur. Verb had two Conjugations: (1) the Thematic, in which the Person-suffixes were attached to the Verb-root by means of a connecting Vowel, ĕ or ŏ (ch. x. § 11), called the 'Thematic Vowel', e.g. Gk. λέγ-ο-μεν, λέγ-ε-τε, where the suffix of the First Person Plural, -μεν, and the suffix of the Second Person Plural, -τε, are attached to the root of the Verb, λεγ-, by means of the Vowels ο and ε; (2) the Athematic, in which the Person-suffixes were attached directly to the Verb-root without the help of this connecting vowel, e.g. Gk. ἴ-μεν, ἴ-τε. The Thematic Conjugation had its 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. in -ō, and used the diphthong oi in its Optative, e.g. Gk. λέγ-ω, λέγ-οι-τε. The 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. of the Athematic Conjugation had the suffix -mĭ, and in the Optative iē was used in the Sing. Act., elsewhere ī, e.g. Gk. εἶ-μι, ἵστα-ίη-ν, ἵστα-ῖ-μεν (ἱσταῖμεν). The so-called 'irregularity' of Latin Verbs like *sum, eo, volo,* is mainly due to the fact that they belonged to the I.-Eur. Athematic Conjugation. The root of the Verb *sum* is es- (cf. Inf. *es-se*); and *es-t, es-tis* differ from *leg-i-t, leg-i-tis* merely in the absence of the connecting vowel ĕ (class. Lat. ĭ, ch. ii. § 14).

So *ī-s* (older **ei-s*), *ī-tis* (older **ei-tis*) from the root ei-, 'to go'; *vul-t* (older *vol-t*), *vul-tis* (older *vol-tis*) from the root wel-, 'to wish' (ch. ii. § 8; on *vis* see § 23). The *-m* of *sum* is the Athematic -mĭ of the 1 Sg. Pres. Ind.; and the iē (ī) of the Optative appears in the so-called 'Subjunctive', *s-iē-s* (class. *sīs*), *s-ī-tis*. But in Latin a great many thematic forms are mixed with these Athematic Verbs. Thus their First Singular Pres. Ind. is usually thematic, *e-ō* from ey-ō (ch. x. § 13), *vol-ō*, and their Third Plural of the same tense, e.g. *eunt*[1] from ey-ŏnt (ch. ii. § 14). And throughout the Latin Verb we shall find a strange mixture of thematic with athematic forms.

§ 2. **The First Conjugation.** To this Conjugation belongs the large number of Derivative Verbs from Ā-stem Nouns, e.g. from *planta*, a plant, *plantare*, to plant, 'to make into a plant', from *fuga*, flight, *fugare*, to put to flight. This form of Verb became associated with a Transitive sense, 'to make', 'reduce anything to a certain state or condition', and was extended to Verbs derived from other stems, if these Verbs had this transitive meaning, e.g. *colōrare*, to make coloured, from *color*, *scelerare*, to make guilty, from *scelus*, *pulverare*, to turn into dust, to cover with dust, from *pulvis*. A section of the First Conjugation Verbs belongs to a very ancient type, such as *stā-re* from the root stā-, 'to stand', *in-trā-re*, where trā- is a Verb-root, a derivative of the root ter-, 'to go through', 'pierce'. This ancient type belonged properly to the Athematic Conjugation, while Derivatives like

[1] The athematic form would be *i-nt*, a form which seems actually to have been in use.

fugare were thematic and used the suffix -yŏ- to form their Present Tense. The two types have been blended in Latin in such a way that both form their 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. thematically, with the addition of this suffix -yŏ-, and the rest of their Persons athematically; and so we have: *intrō* (from *-trā-yō*) like *fugō* (from *-gā-yō*); *fugā-s* like *intrā-s*, *fugā-tis* like *intrā-tis*.

The First Conjugation was the favourite Latin Conjugation, and verbs taken from other languages were impressed into it,[1] e.g. *propinare*, to drink a person's health, from Greek προπίνειν, *atticissare*, to ape the Athenian fashion, from Greek ἀττικίζειν. It includes the numerous class of Iteratives or Frequentatives, e.g. *pulso*, I strike frequently, the Frequentative of *pello*, formed from Perf. Part. Pass.-stems or rather from the Fem. of these used as a Noun (cf. *offensa* beside *offensus*, *repulsa* beside *repulsus*). They sometimes double the TO-suffix, e.g. *fac-tĭ-to*, *ven-tĭ-to*.

O. Lat. *sonĕre*, e.g. Lucr. iii. 156:

Caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,

comes directly from the root swĕn- (Lat. *sŏn-*, ch. x. § 13) as *legere* from the root leg- (see § 4), and formed its Perfect and Supine regularly, *sonui*, *sonitum*. *Sonāre*, a Derivative from a lost Verbal Noun **sona*, existed side by side with *sonere* and in time ousted the Third Conj. form, though the Third Conj. Perf. and Supine were retained. Hence the irregular conjugation: *sono*, *sonui*, *sonitum*,

[1] So in German loan-verbs take the ending *-ieren*, e.g. commandieren.

sonare. Similarly the coexistence of *im-plico* (3 Conj.) from the root plek-, 'to fold' (cf. Gk. πλέκω) and *im-plico* (1 Conj.) from a lost Verbal Noun of the First Decl. (cf. Gk. πλοκή) gave rise to the blended conjugation: *implico, implicui* and *implicavi, implicitum* and *implicatum, implicare*. In the case of *cēlo* from a lost Verbal Noun **cēla*, concealment, from the root *cĕl-*, the Third Conj. form *cĕlo* is found only in Compounds, e.g. *oc-culo* (from *ob* and *cĕlo*); while in *profligare* beside *fligere*, *occupare* beside *capere*, &c., it is the First Conj. form which appears in the Compounds, and the Third Conj. form in the Simple Verb. (On *dăre*,[1] with *dă-*, the weak grade of the root dō-, 'to give', and on *stāre* from the root stā-, 'to stand', see § 23.)

§ 3. **The Second Conjugation.** Here too we may discriminate an ancient type of Athematic Verbs, e.g. *im-plē-re* with the root plē- (cf. P.P.P. *implē-tus*), a by-form of the root pel-, 'to fill', from the great mass of Derivative Verbs, e.g. *claudē-re*, to be lame, derived from the O-stem Adjective *claudus*, lame. These Derivatives of the Second Conjugation contrast with the Derivatives of the First in that they are derived not from Ā-stems but from O-stems and have not a transitive but an intransitive meaning. *Clarere*, for example, means 'to be clear', while *clarare* means 'to make clear'. Like the Derivative Verbs of the First Conjugation these Derivatives of the Second formed their Present Tense stem originally with the suffix -yŏ- and belonged properly to the Thematic

[1] Beside the Simple Verb *dare* 'to give' stands the Derivative (from *donum*) *donare* 'to gift'.

Conjugation. In Latin the intermixture of the thematic and athematic forms has had the same result as in the First Conjugation, namely that the First Sing. Pres. Ind. was formed thematically with the YŎ-suffix, the other Persons athematically, e.g. *impleo* (from -ē-yō) like *claudeo*; *claudē-s, claudē-tis*, like *implē-s, implē-tis*.

But there is a further element of confusion in the Second Conjugation. The I.-Eur. Causative and Intensive Verbs, whose Present-stem was formed in -ĕyŏ- with the O-grade of the root (ch. x. § 12), were attracted into this Conjugation in Latin; and so, e.g. *moneo*, I remind, cause to remember (with Present-stem mŏnĕyŏ-), the Causative of the Verb-root men-, 'to remember', is a Second Conjugation Verb. Another verb of this form with Causative meaning is *torreo*, I cause to become dry, from the root ters-, 'to be dry'. Another with Causative or Intensive meaning is *noceo* from the root *nec-* (Lat. *nex*). The absorption of these verbs into the Second Conjugation brought about the strange result that though the Second Conjugation type is associated with an intransitive sense, a small body of verbs of this Conjugation have a decidedly transitive meaning.

The intransitive character of these Second Conj. Verbs, the Ē-Verbs as they may be called, is due to the fact that the Verb-stem with this suffix -ē- had an intransitive sense. In Greek the Verb-stem with the E-suffix was used as a Passive, e.g. *ἐ-τύπη-ν*, I was struck, or merely an Intransitive, e.g. *ἐ-μάνη-ν*, I was in a state of madness. In Latin this intransitive Verb-stem in ē appears in *calē-facio*, to put into a state

of warmth, *calē-fio*,[1] to be put into a state of warmth; closely connected with it are Verbal Noun-stems in *ē*, e.g. *sordēs* Plur. (cf. *sordē-facio*), the declension of which varies between the Fifth and the Third Declension (see ch. iii. § 13). There are a large number of these Verbs in *-eo* indicating state or condition in Latin, e.g. *caleo*, *timeo*, *paveo*, each with a corresponding Noun in *-or* (an S-stem, ch. iii. § 8; ch. xi. § 18), e.g. *calor*, *timor*, *pavor*, and an Adj. in *-ĭ-dus*, e.g. *calidus*, *timidus*, *pavidus*. 'Inceptive' Verbs, which denote the passing into a state or condition, e.g. *calesco*, to pass into the state of warmth, *liquesco*, to pass into a liquid state, are so closely associated with Intransitive Ē-Verbs that they are often used as their Present Tense, e.g. *inardesco* (*inardeo* is not found), *convalesco* (not *convaleo*). So remote are these Verbs from a transitive sense that a construction like *horrere aliquem*, *pavere aliquem* is not found before Cicero's time. To make Transitives of them the Auxiliary Verb *facio* was brought into requisition, e.g. *pavē-facio*, *calē-facio*.

Third Conj. Verbs which had an intransitive meaning tended to pass into the Second Conjugation. Thus *ferveo*, the older form, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 567:

Jam fervĕre litora flammis,

became in class. Lat. *ferveo*. (Cf. *fulgeo* from *fulgo*, *scateo* from *scato*, *intueor* from *intuor*.)

§ 4. **The Third Conjugation.** This is the common

[1] Another explanation makes these merely *calens-fio* and *calens* (Neut.) *facio*.

receptacle for Verbs of all kinds but the Derivative YŎ-Verbs, derived from Nouns or Adjectives, which belong to the First, Second, and Fourth. Such Derivatives from U-stems however are included in this Conjugation, e.g. *statuo* (from *-tu-yō*), derived from *status*. Verbs in *-io* not derived from Nouns or Adjectives, which for a time wavered between the Third and Fourth Conjugations, have been mostly absorbed by the Third, such as *facio* (2 Sg. *facĭs* 3 Conj., but older *facīs* 4 Conj.), *pario* (Inf. *parĕre*, but in Plautus *parire*) (see § 5, end). The Derivatives from Nouns and Adjectives are distinguishable from them by their Perfect in *-īvi* and P.P.P. in *-ītus*, e.g. *finivi*, *finitus*, though even this form of the Perf. Ind. and Part. Pass. occurs in a few Third Conj. Verbs like *lacesso*, which had by-forms in *-io*, **lacessio*, **capessio*. The types of Verb which this Conjugation contains are therefore very numerous. We have (1) the common type of Thematic Verb, with the ordinary form of the root, e.g. *leg-ō* from the root *leg-*, *dīco* (older *deico*) from the root *deic-*, *dūco* (older *douco* with *ou* for I.-Eur. eu, ch. x. § 11) from the root *deuc-*. (2) with Reduplicated Root, e.g. *gi-gn-o* (Gk. γί-γν-ομαι) from the root *gen-*. (3) with Nasalized Root, the nasal being either inserted in the root, e.g. *ju-n-g-o* from the root *jug-* (I.-Eur. yeug-, weak form yŭg-), to join, *li-n-quo* from the root *liq-*, *leiq-*, to leave; or appended, e.g. *sterno* from the root *ster-*, to strew, *lin-o* from the root *li-*, *lei-*, to smear. Sometimes a syllable is appended, e.g. *sternuo*, I sneeze, *minuo*, a type of Verb which corresponds to Greek Verbs in *-νῡμι* or *-νυω*, e.g. πτάρ-νŭ-μαι (cf. μι-νύ-θω). (4) with

YŎ-suffix, e.g. *specio*.[1] These wavered between the Fourth and Third Conjugations, unlike the Derivatives from I-stems with 1 Sg. Pres. in *-io* from *-iyō, e.g. *finio*, which belong exclusively to the Fourth (see below, § 5). (5) 'Inceptives' with the SKŎ-suffix, which are not rightly called 'Inceptives', since they denote the passing into a state or condition, 'becoming' rather than 'beginning', e.g. *calēsco*, I become warm, *liquesco*, I pass into a liquid state (§ 3), and the archaic 'Inceptive' of *sum*, *ĕsco* (used by Lucretius). These modifications of the Root by Reduplication, Nasalization, addition of YŎ- and SKŎ-suffixes were made with the object of forming a Present-Tense Stem, and were properly discarded in the Perfect and the tenses related to the Perfect. The stem *gignŏ-* of *gignō* had the idea of 'continued production', so that *gignō* meant 'I continue to produce', 'I am in the state of producing'. To form the Tenses expressing momentary, past action such a stem could not be used; so we find the Perfect *genui* exhibiting the root in the form *gen-*, not in the form *gign-* (cf. Gk. ἐ-γεν-ό-μην 2 Aor., beside γίγν-ο-μαι Pres.). These Tense-stems will be discussed afterwards (§§ 7–12); but meanwhile we may point out that by a not unnatural confusion a stem which properly belonged only to the Present Tense was often retained throughout the Verb (e.g. *junxi, junctus* retain the *n* of the Pres.-stem), or a stem was used in the Present which properly belonged to other Tenses, e.g. *rūdo*, beside *rūdo* (older **reudo*), *geno* Luer. (On the use

[1] Y in Greek after a consonant became τ, so Gk. σκέπτομαι, for *σκεπ-yo-μαι, corresponds to Lat. *specio*.

of 'Inceptives' in *-sco* as Present of Intransitive Ē-verbs, e.g. *incalesco*, not **incaleo*, see above, § 3.)

§ 5. **The Fourth Conjugation.** This, like the First and Second, consists mainly of Derivative Verbs. These are not merely Derivatives from I-stems, e. g. *fīnio* (Pres.-stem fini-yŏ-) derived from the I-stem *finis*, but Derivatives of various origin, all showing the usual Derivative Present-stem suffix -yŏ-, e. g. *custōdio*, I am a guard, from *custōs*. As the First Conj. Derivatives had a transitive, the Second Conj. Derivatives an intransitive sense, so the Fourth Conj. Derivatives are to some extent associated with the idea of a mental or bodily state, especially a state of disease, e.g. *raucio*, I am hoarse, *dentio*, I am teething. Desiderative Verbs (which were used more in conversational Latin than in the literary language) belong to the Fourth Conjugation, e. g. *esŭrio*, I am hungry, I desire to eat, *emptŭrio*, I desire to buy. They are formed with the YŎ-suffix from Verbal Noun-stems in -tor-, e. g. *esŭrio* (older **esŏrio*) from *esor* (**ed-tor*), an eater, *emptŭrio* (older **emptŏrio*) from *emptor*, a buyer, and must be distinguished from a small class of Verbs in *-ūrio* (also written *-urrio*), e. g. *ligurrio*, I lick, *scatūrio*, I gush, which are Derivatives from Verbal Nouns in *-ūris*, like *securis*, an axe (from *seco*), or *-ūra*, like *figura* (from *fingo*).

The Fourth Conjugation is connected with the Third by the accident that a large number of Verbs of the Third Conjugation had by-forms made with the YŎ-suffix, e. g. *pinsio* beside *pinso* (cf. *lacessivi*, &c., from **lacessio*, a by-form of *lacesso*), and that several of the YŎ-verbs did not retain this suffix throughout their Con-

jugation, e.g. *facio* has Inf. *facĕre, cupio* has Inf. *cupĕre*. *Facio* and *cupio* are by the classical period entirely separated from any connexion with the Fourth Conj., though Plautus has *facīs, cupīs* like *audīs*; and the same is true of *adgredior* (but *adgredimur* Plaut.), *adorior* (but *adorītur* Lucr.), *morior* (but *morīmur* Enn.), and the like. It is perhaps to the connecting-link furnished by these Verbs in *-io* of the Third Conjugation[1] that we should refer the remodelling of the Imperf. and Fut. Ind. of the Fourth Conj. on the type of the Third, which was fully effected before the classical period; *finiebam* replacing the older *finibam, finiam* the older *finibo* (see §§ 8, 9).

§ 6. **The Voices.** The three Voices of Greek, Active, Middle, and Passive, are in Latin Grammars reduced to two, Active and Passive. The Latin Deponents however take to some extent the place of the Greek Middle; and *sequor* is an example of an I.-Eur. Middle which appears in the I.-Eur. languages with the Middle or Passive endings (e. g. Gk ἕπο-μαι, Early Irish sĕchur). These endings are explained in § 21. In the Italic and Celtic languages their distinguishing feature is the letter *r* (e. g. Lat. *sequor, sequitur*; O. Ir. sĕchur, sechĕthar), and there are traces that the Passive R-forms were originally restricted to an Impersonal use in which this *r* was added immediately to the root of the verb. If this be so, a supposed form **ama-r* would in very early times

[1] Since these Third Conj. Verbs in *-io* have a short vowel in the Stem, e. g. *căpio, făcio*, while the Fourth Conj. Verbs have a long vowel, e. g. *sāgio*, it has been suggested that the Latin Phonetic Law known as the 'Law of Breves Breviantes' (see ch. ii. § 16) may have often been the factor which produced the diversity of type.

mean 'there is loving' and would govern an Accusative Case; later it would receive a Personal suffix, *ama-tŏ-r* (class. Lat. *amatŭr*, ch. ii. § 14), and gradually take the Noun as a Subject, not as an Object. **Amar hominem* would become *amatur hominem*, then *amatur homo*. This Impersonal use of the Passive was a great feature of Latin, e.g. itur in antiquam silvam, Virg.; PRIVATVM. PRECARIO ADEITVR, 'No Admittance', on an inscription. (On the Fut. Inf. Pass. *amatum iri* see § 15.) In the early literature we seem to find occasionally the Noun in the Accusative, e.g. vitam vivitur, Enn.

Another trace of the I.-Eur. Middle in Latin is the Perfect Active, whose ending *-ī* (older *-ei*) shows it to be a Middle and not an Active form (see § 10), so that a Perfect like *reverti* goes naturally with a Present *revertor*. On the other hand the rare Perfects *gavisi*,[1] *solui*, *ausi* were in correct Latin replaced by the usual Deponent type of Perfect, *gavisus sum*, *solitus sum*, *ausus sum*; and, by a curious attraction, *coeptus sum*, *desitus sum* were used when a Pass. Inf. followed, e.g. urbs coepta est aedificari.[2]

The I.-Eur. Middle was associated with Verbs indicating states of feeling, operations of the senses, condition of life, &c.; and the Latin Deponents are still true to this type, e.g. *reor*, *vereor*, *irascor*, *contemplor*, *poetor*, *dominor*, *auguror*, *aemulor*.[3] Like the Reflexive

[1] e.g. Liv. Andronicus: quoniam audiui paucis gauisi.

[2] So in the early writers *potestur*, *poteratur*, *possetur*, *nequitur*, *nequitum*, e.g. Lucr. iii. 1010: quod tamen expleri nulla ratione potestur.

[3] Lat. *-ari* corresponds to Greek *-ευειν*, e.g. Lat. *dominari* to Greek *τυραννεύειν*, 'to be a tyrant', 'to play the part of a tyrant'.

use of the Greek Middle is Lat. *cingor* for *cingo me*, &c. Examples of Frequentative Middles are *hortor* (Frequentative of O. Lat. *horior*), *meditor* (from a lost **medor*, Gk. *μέδομαι*), *imitor* (from a lost **imor*; cf. *imā-go*), *nitor* for **nivitor* (from a root with a Guttural; cf. *nixus*, and see ch. x. § 18).

As in Greek *ἀποθνήσκω*—a Verb of Active form—is used as the Passive of *ἀποκτείνω*, so in Latin *vapulo* is the Passive of *verbero*, to beat, *vēneo* (*venum eo*) of *vendo*, to sell, *fio* of *facio*, to make. The older Inf. *fiere*[1] was in classical Latin changed to suit the form of the ordinary Passive Inf. and became *fieri*, much as Plautus uses *vēniri* for *vēnire*.

The type of Conjugation, *soleo, solitus sum, solere*, was widely spread in Early Latin, e. g. *maereo, maestus sum, maerere, taceo, tacitus sum, tacere*; whence come the so-called Adjectives *maestus, tacitus* (cf. *prausus, potus, iuratus*, &c.).

§ 7. **Tenses. The Present.** The various Tenses of the Verb had each their Tense-stem, formed from the root of the Verb by the addition of some suffix or by some other modification (e. g. Reduplication, § 10). In addition, the Past Tenses might be distinguished by the Prefix of the Augment *ĕ-*, a Demonstrative Particle signifying 'then', 'there'; but in the earliest Greek and Sanscrit literature this Particle is often omitted, and in Latin there seems to be no trace of it. The formation of the Present-stem has already been treated in the

[1] Ennius in the description of Homer's Metempsychosis has: memini me fiere pauom, 'I remember becoming a peacock.'

account of the Latin Conjugations. To indicate the idea of present or continued action we have seen that the root of the Verb was modified in the First, Second, and Fourth Conjugations by the addition of a YO-suffix; e. g. *amā-yŏ-*, is the Present-stem of the Verb *amare*, to love, whence 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. **amā-jō*, which became *amo*; so *pleo* for **plē-jō* (stem *plē-yŏ-*), &c. Third Conjugation Verbs show various modes of forming the Present-stem, such as (1) Reduplication, e. g. *gigno* (stem *gi-gnŏ-*; cf. Gk. *γίγνο-μαι*) from the Root *gen-*, (2) N-suffix, e. g. *ster-n-o* from the root *ster-*, *lĭ-n-o* from the root *lei-*, or N.-infix, e. g. *păn-g-o* from the root *pag-*, this *n* disappearing usually in the Perfect, &c., e. g. *strā-vi*, *lī-vi*, *pĕ-pĭg-i* or *pēg-i*. A common Third Conjugation type however shows the ordinary form of the root with no addition but the thematic vowel (e. g. *leg-o* from the root *leg-*; *dico*, originally *deic-o*, from the root *deic-*). The SKO-suffix gave the notion of becoming, and so was adapted to the Present Tense, e. g. *incalesco*, I become warm, Perf. *incalui* (see § 3).

§ 8. **The Imperfect.** This Tense belongs to the Present-system, being really the Preterite of the Present Tense. Its Preterite sense is given to it in Latin by the addition in the First Pers. Sing. of *-bam*. The *-bam* of this Tense is really an Auxiliary Verb, a Preterite of the I.-Eur. root bheu-, 'to be' (Lat. *fui*, O. Lat. *fuo*; cf. ch. x. § 16), appended to a Verb-stem,[1] e. g. *amā-bam*, *vidē-bam*,

[1] Some say, to the Pres. Part., **amans-bam*, **dans-bam*, **videns-bam*, **legens-bam*. But this theory does not suit *dăbam*, nor yet the Fourth Conj., for *audī-bam* was the older form, not *audie(ns)-bam*. These

legē-bam, audī-bam (class. *audie-bam*, remodelled after the Third Conjugation, § 5). *Eram* stands alone in dispensing with this Auxiliary. It is a Preterite from the root es-, 'to be', of the same formation as *-bam* from the root bheu-.

§ 9. **Future.** Like the *-bam* of the Imperfect, the *-bō* of the Future conceals an Auxiliary Verb, a Future, or rather Subjunctive of the root bheu-, 'to be'. *Erō*, which corresponds to the Homeric ἔω, Att. ὦ (from *ἔσω), is a corresponding Subjunctive from the root es-, 'to be', with that future sense which belonged to the Subjunctive in early times (p. 116 *n.*). This formation of the Future in *-bo* is peculiar to the three Conjugations which are especially the Conjugations of Derivative Verbs, that is to say to the First, Second, and Fourth, e.g. *amō-bo, vidē-bo*, and in Early Latin *audī-bo*, though by the classical period the Fourth Conj. Future was remodelled on the pattern of the Third Conjugation, *audiam* like *legam* (§ 5). This so-called Future of the Third and Fourth Conjugations is nothing but the Subjunctive (§ 13), the Ā-Subjunctive form being used in the First Person Singular, the Ē-Subjunctive forms in the other Persons, e.g. *legam* (originally *legā-m*, ch. ii. § 6), *legē-s*, *lege-t* (originally *legē-t*, ch. ii. § 16). (On these Subjunctive forms see § 13.)

§ 10. **Perfect.** The completeness with which the Verb-system has been preserved in Greek in contrast with Latin is nowhere more clearly seen than in the

theorists explain similarly the Fut., *ama(ns)-bo*, &c.; also the old Tense *ama(n)s-sim*, &c. (see §§ 12–13); also Verbs like *cale(ns)-facio* (see § 3).

Preterite Tenses. While Greek preserves separately (1) a First Aorist, better called the S-Aorist, e.g. ἔ-δειξ-α for *ἐ-δεικ-σ-α, from the root δεικ-, (2) a Second Aorist, better called the Weak-root Aorist, because it shows the weak root (ch. x. § 12) of the verb, e.g. ἔ-πιθ-ον from πῐθ-, the weak form of the root πειθ-, I.-Eur. bheidh-, (3) a Perfect, showing the Reduplicated Verb-root, e.g. μέμονα, we find in Latin all three mixed up together into a single Preterite, which we call the Perfect Tense, and all driven into the same groove of declension. The S-Perfect, which corresponds to the Greek First Aorist e.g. *dixi*, earlier *deix-ei* (like ἔ-δειξ-α), the true Perfect, e.g. *memin-i* (like Gk. μέμον-α), and Perfects like *fŭdi*, *scĭdi*, which some compare with the Greek Second Aorist,[1] are all declined in the same way: *dixi*, *dixisti*, *dixit*; *memini*, *meministi*, *meminit*; *scidi*, *scidisti*, *scidit*. On the other hand we have in Latin a type of Preterite which is not found in Greek, the V-Perfect, e.g. *amā-v-ī*, *mon-u-ī*, *audī-v-i*, the origin of which is not known.

The declension too of the Perfect shows traces of having been pieced together from various materials. The ending *ī* (older *ei*) of the First Person Singular is I.-Eur. -ai, the ending of the Middle Voice. The Third Sing. of the Perfect Middle had the same ending in I.-Eur., but in Latin *-t* (the usual 3 Sg. suffix, § 20) has been added to distinguish the Third from the First Person, *-ei-t* becoming *-ī*, then *-ĭt* (ch. ii. § 16). The Third

[1] *Attigas*, *attulas*, and similar forms, used by Plautus in prohibitions, &c., e.g. *ne me attigas*, &c., are more certain traces of the Second Aorist in Latin. Cf. p. 106, on *rŭdo*, *geno*. *Parens* stands to *pariens* in the same relation as Gk. τεκών to τίκτων.

Person Plural in *-runt*, older *-ront* (ch. ii. § 14), shows the same *r* that appears often in the 3 Pl. of the I.-Eur. Verb. The First Person Plural is an Active form, e. g. *meminimus* (cf. Gk. *μεμόναμεν*).

Although the I.-Eur. Perfect had as a rule a Reduplicated stem, there were a few Unreduplicated Perfects, e. g. woid-, the Perfect-stem from the root weid-, 'to see, know' (Greek *οἶδα* represents the Active, Lat. *vidī* the Middle), *sēd-*, the Perfect-stem from the root sĕd-, 'to sit' (Lat. *sēdī*). In the second example the raising of the root-vowel from ĕ to ē seems to take the place of Reduplication, parallel to which we find in Latin *pēgī* (beside *pĕpĭgī*), *lēgī* (root *lĕg-*), *ēgī* (root *ag-*) and the like. But undoubtedly the original Perfect-type had Reduplication, and most apparently Unreduplicated Perfects in Latin like *tŭlī*, *scĭdī* were Reduplicated at an earlier period of the language,[1] and lost their Reduplication first in Compounds under the Early Accent Law (ch. ii. § 12), then by analogy in the Simple Verb also. *Re-tetulī* became *ret(ĕ)tulī* (hence always spelt with double *t*) with Syncope of *ĕ*, *at-tetulī* became *attulī*, and so on, until at last the use of *-tulī* in Compounds led to the use of *tulī* in the Simple Verb. Similarly we have *cucurrī* but *concurrī*, *incurrī*, &c.

The Vowel of the Reduplication Syllable was originally ĕ, but owing to the Latin tendency to Assimilation (p. 37) adapted itself to the vowel of the following syllable, e. g. *cucurrī*, *momordī*. This was the formation in vogue

[1] *Tetulī* is the form known to Plautus; cf. O. Lat. *scicidi*.

at the classical period, but in the earlier literature we find *cecurri, memordi,* &c.; and even Cicero and Caesar seem to have allowed the older forms.

The shortened forms of the V- and S-Perfects, e. g. *audisti* for *audivisti, dixti* for *dixisti,* are produced by two tendencies of the language, (1) the tendency to drop *v* between two vowels, especially between two similar vowels, such as *i-i* (cf. *obliscor* an old by-form of *obliviscor,* I forget, *sīs* for *si vis,* 'if you please'; ch. ii. § 12), (2) the tendency to drop one of two similar neighbouring syllables (cf. *sēmodius* for **semi-modius, idolatria* for **idolo-latria,* &c., ch. ii. § 12). We have *dixti* for *dix-isti, misti* for *mi-si-sti* where the two syllables are similar, but not, e. g. **cepsti* for *ce-pi-sti,* where the two syllables have not similarity of sound.

§ 11. **Pluperfect.** Like the Imperfect in *-bam,* and Future in *-bo,* the Pluperfect in *-eram* is an Auxiliary formation, *-eram* being the Preterite of the root es-, 'to be' (§ 8), which is apparently added to the Perfect-stem, e. g. *amāv-eram, monu-eram, dūx-eram, memin-eram, audīv-eram.*

§ 12. **Future-Perfect.** This Tense adds apparently to the Perfect-stem the Auxiliary *ero* (§ 9), as the Pluperfect adds *eram,* e. g. *amāv-ero, monu-ero, dūx-ero, memin-ero, audīv-ero.* In Early Latin there were forms in *-sso,* which are replaced in classical Latin by Fut.-Perf. forms, but which are of an entirely different origin, e. g. *amasso.* They seem to have been originally Subjunctives of some S-tense, like the Greek S-Aorist, and are in fact the exact equivalents of Greek Futures like τιμήσω, which

stands for τιμᾱσσω, and is properly the Subjunctive[1] of ἐτίμησα. Similarly *dixo* (cf. *faxo*) may be compared with Gk. δείξω. (On the Optative of this Latin S-Aorist, *amassim*, &c., see § 13.)

§ 13. **Moods. The Subjunctive.** As the Latin Perfect Tense combines Perfect- and Aorist-forms (§ 10), so the Latin Subjunctive Mood includes the relics of the Optative along with the genuine Subjunctive forms. Optative are all the so-called 'Subjunctives' in *-im*. They show the Athematic Optative, which properly had *-iĕ-* in the Singular, *-ī-* in the Plural (§ 1), a type preserved only in Old Latin *siem, siēs, siēt, sīmus, sītis* (*sient*); and even that has by the classical period been reduced like the rest to the uniform use of the *ī*-forms, *sim, sīs, sit*. So *edim, edis, edit; velim, velis, velit*, and in the older language *duim, duis, duit*.

Of the two Subjunctive-types, the Ā-Subjunctive and the Ē-Subjunctive, the former is used by the Second, Third, and Fourth Conjugations, e. g. *cale-am, cale-ās, cale-at; leg-am, leg-ās, leg-at; audi-am, audi-ās, audi-at*, the latter by the First, e. g. *am-em, am-ēs, am-et*. The reason for the use of the Ē-type in the First Conjugation is that the Ā-type must have been confused with Pres. Indicative forms, e. g. *amās, amat*. The Ē-type was also pressed into the service of the Third and after its model (§ 5) of the Fourth Conjugation in the capacity

[1] I. e. the Athematic Subjunctive, which had *o, ε* where the Thematic had *ω, η*. Thus τιμήσομεν (cf. τείσομεν Subj. in Homer) is Athematic, τιμήσωμεν Thematic. The I.-Eur. Subj. had often a Fut. sense, a feature of the old language which is still retained in the Greek of Homer, e. g. *Od.* xvi. 437 οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται.

of a Future Indicative (§ 12 *n.*), this type being chosen for the sake of distinction from the Pres. Subjunctive; though curiously enough in the First Person Singular of the Future, the Ā-form was used, e. g. *legam, leges, leget; audiam, audies, audiet.* The reason for the retention of the Ā-form in this Person was that this single Person had been in use as a Future long before the fashion was introduced of dropping the proper Future-tense (§ 9) and using Subjunctive-forms in its place. *Audiam* had established itself in use before *audies, audiet* replaced *audibis, audibit,* &c., and though we find traces of a temporary effort at uniformity by the substitution of *audiem, faciem,* &c., the old-established form maintained its ground.

The Ē-type was adopted by the true Subjunctive of *sum,* if we may infer this from the fact that *sem* and not *sam* is the Auxiliary used in the formation of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive, e. g. *amā-rem, amā-res, amā-ret,* with *r* from an older *s* (ch. x. § 19); *amavis-sem, amavis-sēs, amavis-set. Vellem* comes from **vel-sem* (ch. x. § 19), *ferrem* from **fer-sem* (ch. x. § 19). But from *fuo,* an obsolete Pres. of which *fui* is the Perfect, we have *fuam* in Old Latin; cf. Virg. *Aen.* x. 108 Tros Rutulusve fuat nullo discrimine habebo. *Forem* seems to stand for **fuerem,* as *Marcipor,* an Old Latin slave-name, for **Marcipuer. Edim* and *edam, duim* and *duam* are the last examples of the coexistence of rival Optative and Subjunctive forms in Latin. They illustrate how, the Opt. and Subj. having become identical in meaning (both *edim* and *edam* have the meanings 'O that

I may eat', 'let me eat', '[that] I may eat'), one of the forms (usually the Optative) was dropped as superfluous. The old Optative sense is preserved in the ante-classical Optative-forms in *-ssim*, e.g. *amassim*, which occur in early Latin prayers, e.g. Juppiter prohibessis scelus; di mactassint, and the Augural formula: bene sponsis beneque uolueris. These forms in *-ssim*, often called Perfect Subjunctives, are the Optative Mood[1] of the forms in *-sso*, e.g. *amasso*, mentioned in § 12.

§ 14. **Imperative.** In the 2 Sg. Act. of the Present Imperative the bare stem of the Verb was used, e.g. Athematic *ei* (class. Lat. *ī*) from the root *ei-*, to go, Thematic *lege* from the root *leg-*, to gather. But a particle was often added, e.g. *-θι* in Gk. *ἴ-θι*, &c.; and so *-tōd* (which became *-tō*, ch. x. § 17) (Abl. Sing. of the Demonstr. Pronoun stem *to-*, ch. v. § 3) in the 2, 3 Sg., e.g. *es-tō*, older *estōd* (Gk. *ἔσ-τω*). The addition of *-tōd* 'from that', 'thereupon', to the 2 Sg. Pres. Imperat. gives it a Future Imperat. sense, e.g. Hor. *C.* iii. 14. 23:

> Si per invisum mora janitorem
> Fiet, abito,

'if the hateful porter detain you, go away', lit. 'go away thereupon'. *Memento* is I.-Eur. mem^{e}ntōd (Gk. *μεμάτω*). The 2 Plur. of the Future Imperative adds *-tĕ* (the 2 Plur. suffix, e.g. *abi-te*) to the Sing. form, e.g. *abito-te*.

Fĕr, *vĕl* (used as a Conjunction, ch. ix. § 3), *ĕs* are

[1] An old inscription of Luceria (in Apulia, on the borders of Oscan territory) seems to replace this *ss* by *tt* (written *t*), like Attic Gk. *πράττω* for *πράσσω*, &c. It offers *fundatid* for 'fundassit', *parentatid* for 'parentassit'.

regularly formed Athematic Imperatives from the roots *fĕr-* (I.-Eur. bher-), *vĕl-* (I.-Eur. wel-), *ĕs-*. Another is *-do* (originally *-dō*, ch. ii. § 16) of *cĕ-dŏ*, 'give here', from *cĕ-*, the Demonstr. Particle (ch. v. § 4) and the root dō-, 'to give' (cf. Gk. *δί-δω*, Imperat. of *δί-δω-μι*). The genuine Imperat. of *dare* has been preserved in this Compound only, for *dā* follows the Analogy of the First Declension. But *dic*, *duc*, *fac* are Thematic Imperatives, representing an earlier *dice*, *duce*, *face* (ch. ii. § 12), and so is *em* (used as an Interjection, ch. ix. § 18), properly the Imperat. of *emo*, I take. (Cf. Catullus xxvii. 2: inger mi calices amariores, instead of 'ingere mi'.)

§ 15. **Infinitive.** The I.-Eur. Infinitive was merely a Case (usually Dat. or Loc. Sg.) of a Verbal Noun. Thus Lat. *da-rī* (O. Lat. *da-sei*) is Dat. of an S-stem like the Noun *generi*, Dat. of the S-stem *genus* (ch. xi. § 18); Lat. *da-rĕ* (earlier *da-sĭ*) is Loc. of the same stem (on *generĕ*, Loc. used as Abl., see ch. iii. § 8); similarly *es-sĕ* from the root *es-*, to be, *dedis-sĕ*, *fer-rĕ* for **fer-sĕ* (ch. x. § 19), *vel-lĕ* for **vel-sĕ* (ibid.). For Inf. Pass. of the Third Conjugation we have the Dat. not of an S-stem but of a Root-stem (ch. xi. § 19), e. g. *leg-ī* (not *leger-ī*). Thus the Latin Inf. Pass. differed from the Inf. Act. only conventionally, the Dat. case being reserved for the one use, the Loc. for the other, and had no distinctive Passive suffix. Whether this is present in the O. Lat. by-forms *legier*, *darier*, &c., is not certain.

For the Perfect Inf. Passive the Perf. Part. Pass. was

used with the Auxiliary Verb *esse*, e. g. constat id factum esse, constat ea facta esse; for the Fut. Pass. the 1st Supine with *iri*, Inf. Pass. of *eo*, to go, e. g. constat id factum iri, constat ea factum iri.[1] The Fut. Act., e. g. constat id eventurum (esse), is most naturally explained as a combination of the Fut. Part. Act. with *esse*; though its Old Latin indeclinable use, e. g. credo inimicos meos dicturum (from a speech of C. Gracchus), has suggested the theory that it is a compound of the 2nd Supine in *-tū* with a supposed old Inf. of *sum*, viz. **erum* (from **esŏm*), *dicturum* for **dictū-erum* being in time made personal *dicturus, -a, -um* (the Fut. Part. Act.) in the same way as O. Lat. 'dicendum est orationem' changed to class. Lat. 'dicenda est oratio' (§ 18).

§ 16. **The Supines.** The First Supine, used after a Verb of motion, is the Acc. Sg. of a Verbal Noun, a TU-stem (ch. xi. § 13), e. g. *ire spectatum*, lit. 'to go to the seeing', like *ire domum*, to go to the house, *ire Romam*, to go to Rome.

The Second Supine, used after an Adjective, is the Loc. Sg. (ch. iii. § 11) of the same Verbal Noun, e. g. *agilis cursu*, nimble in running. This Loc. Sg. in *-ū* of U-stems often played the part of a Dat. (cf. *curru* for *currui* in Virgil); and we find the Second Supine used not only as a Locative, but as a Dative, e. g. (*fabula*)

[1] *Iri* is Impersonal Passive like Virgil's *itur in antiquam silvam* (§ 6), so that the sentence literally means 'it is agreed that there is a going to do these things'. A quotation from a speech of Cato: *contumelia mihi factum itur*, shows the same tendency to make this Impersonal Passive personal as produced *vita vivitur* out of O. Lat. *vitam vivitur* (§ 6).

lepida memoratu, pleasant for telling, where in the older language the Dative proper in *-ui* is used, e.g. *lepida memoratui* (Plaut.), as well as the Locative, e.g. *ridicula auditu* (Plaut.).[1]

This TU-stem appears frequently in the language of Plautus and the older Dramatists, e.g. *obsonatu redeo*, I return from buying food for dinner, *essum vocare*, to invite to dinner, *nuptum dare*, to give in marriage. In *Aul.* 736 *perditum ire* is used almost like *perdere*:

Quamóbrem ita faceres méque meosque pérditum ires líberos

(cf. *Bacch.* 565 mi ires consultum male, 'you would go and thwart my interests'). The use of the Accusative without a Preposition is common in early Latin in phrases like *i malam crucem*, go and be hanged (Plaut.), *suppetias ire*, to go to help, *infitias ire*, to deny, *exsequias ire*, to go to a funeral. The Supine use thus arose naturally out of the tendencies of the language. Like *nuptum dare* and *nuptum ire* are *vēnumdare* or *vēnundare* (*vendere*) and *vēnum ire* (*vēnire*); *pessumdare* or *pessum dare* and *pessum ire*, which may be regarded as survivals of the Plautine idiom. (Cf. *perire* and *perdere*.)

§ 17. **The Participles.** The I.-Eur. Participles were merely Verbal Adjectives formed with the various suffixes mentioned in ch. xi. Thus for the Perf. Part. Pass. the TO-suffix was used to form certain Verbal Adjectives which in Latin took the function of Perfect

[1] In Plaut. *Rud.* 294 this Loc. plays the part of a Predicative Dative:

Sunt nobis quaestu et cultu,
'They are our trade and pursuit.'

Participles Passive (Gk. *θε-τός*, Lat. *crē-dĭ-tus*, *re-plē-tus*),[1] or the NO-suffix (Engl. bound-en; cf. Lat. *plē-nus* Adj.). For the Gerundive the YO-suffix was used in various I.-Eur. languages, traces in Greek being words like *ἄγ-ιος*, venerable, 'worthy of veneration' from *ἄζομαι*, and in Latin, *eximius*, 'worthy of being taken out', from *exemo*, to take out.

The Pres. Part. Act. (and all Active Participles, except the Perfect[2]) took the suffix -ĕnt- (-ont-, -nt-; ch. xi. § 12), e. g. Gk. *φέρ-ων*, *-οντος*, Lat. *fer-ens*, *-entis*. The Pres. Part. Middle (or Passive) was formed in -mĕnŏ- (-mono-, -mno-; ch. xi. § 12), e.g. Gk. *φερό-μενος*, but dropped at an early period out of use in Latin; though it is found in the 2 Pl. Ind. Pass., e. g. *ferimini* (sc. *estis*; see § 21), and in nouns like *alumnus* (cf. Gk. *ὁ τρεφόμενος*, see ch. xi. § 6). (On 2 Pl. Imper. *ferimini*, see § 21.) The Fut. Part. Act. in *-tūrus* is probably a formation with the suffix -rŏ- from a TU-stem Verbal Noun, e. g. *scriptūrus* (stem *scripturŏ-*) from the stem *scriptŭ-* of *scriptus*, *-ūs*, *pictūrus* from the stem *pictŭ-* of *pictus*, *-ūs*, &c., like Gk. *ἰσχῦ-ρός* from *ἰσχύς*. (For another explanation, see § 15.) For a Participle the Latin writers, especially the poets, often substituted an Adjective, e. g. *lacer* for *laceratus* (lacerum crudeliter ora, Virg.); and these Adjectives or 'truncated Parti-

[1] *Aegrōtus* may be a trace of a Latin O Conjugation like Greek *δηλόω*.

[2] Its suffix was -wĕs-, -us-. Some find traces of a Perf. Part. Act. in Latin in words like *cadā-ver*, *papā-ver*; others in O. Lat. *gnārūres* Plur., knowing (e. g. Plaut. *Most.* 100). *Memor* is not a Perf. Part., but an Adj. derived from a Perf. Part. stem, as Gk. *κεκραγμός* (Eurip.) is a Noun derived from *κέκρᾱγα*.

ciples' have to some extent encroached on the Perf. Part. Pass. in the Romance languages, e. g. Ital. trovo beside trovato, 'found'. (On Verbal Adjectives in *-bilis*, see ch. xi. § 12.)

The close relation between Participles, Adjectives, and even Nouns is seen in words like *rudens*, a rope, lit. 'rattling'; *benevolens*, a friend, used as a Noun by Plautus.[1] It was this close relationship of *benevolens* and *benevolus*, *insciens* and *inscius*, *indigens* and *indigus*, *congruens* and *congruus*, &c., which led to a type of Comparison like *benevolus*, *-entior*, *-entissimus* (ch. iv. § 3). Very early examples of Pres. Participles used as Nouns or Adjectives are *dens*, a Pres. Part. of the root *ed-*, to eat, and *sons*, a Pres. Part. of the root *es-*, to be, so that *dens* properly means 'the eater', *sons*,[2] 'being', 'truly being', whence 'truly charged', 'guilty'. (Our 'sooth' is the same word.) The Perf. Part. Pass. had the same tendency to become an Adjective, e. g. *cĭtus*, swift, lit. 'bestirred'; *cătus*, originally sharp,[3] from the root *cō-*, to sharpen (cf. *cōs*, a whetstone), then (metaphorically) (1) piercing, of sounds, e. g. cata signa, Enn., 'the shrill clarions', (2) shrewd, of persons; *lātus*, O. Lat. *stlātus* (ch. x. § 19), broad, lit. 'extended', from the root *stel-*, to spread, extend. Of Past Parts. Pass. as Nouns we have e. g. *natus*, a son, *legatus*, a lieutenant, deputy. When used

[1] So Engl. friend is properly a Pres. Part. (Goth. frijōnds, 'loving').

[2] *Sons* has the ONT-stem, a form of the Stem of which traces occur in Athematic Verbs in Latin like *eo*, *volo* (*euntis* Gen., beside *iens* Nom.; *voluntas* beside *volens*).

[3] Varro tells us the word had this meaning in his native district.

as Adjectives, they sometimes passed into I-stems, the favourite form of stem for Adjectives (ch. xi. § 12), e. g. *fortis*, O. Lat. *forctus*, apparently an old P. P. P.; *sanates* 'restored to loyalty', for *sanati*. When used as Nouns the Neuter often appears, e. g. *tectum*, a roof, *fatum*, destiny, lit. 'something spoken', from the old phrase *fari fatum alicui*, to lay a doom or spell on one, and (especially in the case of Abstract Nouns) the Feminine, e. g. *offensa*, *repulsa*.

The Past Part. Passive took, as a rule, in I.-Eur. the weak grade (ch. x. § 12) of the Verb-root, e. g. *clŭ-to-* from *cleu-*, to hear (Gk. κλῠτός, Lat. *in-clūtus*); Lat. *dŭc-tus* from *dūco*. The Perfect Ind. Act. has however sometimes influenced its vocalism. The same influence caused the substitution of *-sus* for *-tus*, the *s*-form being originally and properly confined to Dental Verb-stems, e. g. *tensus* for **tend-tus*, *ūsus* (older *ūssus*) for **ut-tus*, *flexus* for **flect-tus*, *salsus* for **sald-tus*, *perculsus* for **per-cᵉldtus* from the root *celd-*, to strike (cf. *clādes*) (*dt* and *tt* became by the Latin Law of Sound *ss*, ch. x. § 17). But where the Perfect Ind. took *s* or *x*, this consonant was given by false analogy to the Part., e. g. *farsus* from *farcio*, Perf. *farsi* for **farc-si*; *fixus* from *figo*, Perf. *fixi*; *tersus* from *tergo*, Perf. *tersi*, just as the analogy of *haesi* produced the late form *haesurus* and *hausi* (P. P. P. *haustus*) *hausurus* beside *hausturus*. But in the earlier literature we have the forms with *-tus*, e. g. *tertus*. (So in Plautus *pulto* for class. *pulso*, § 2.)

§ 18. **The Gerund and Gerundive.** The Gerundive (Adj.) in *-ndo-* has beside it a Gerund (Neut. Noun)

in *-ndo-*, which seems to stand to the Gerundive in the same relation as an Impersonal to a Personal Verb, *eundum est in antiquam silvam* being Impersonal like *itur in antiquam silvam*. The Adjectival use seems to have been the original one.[1] In the older Latin writers, when this formation is turned into finite form, i.e. when a statement is made by means of it, the usual method is to employ the Gerund with *est* governing an object, e. g. agitandum est vigilias, imperandum est servis, carendum est urbe; but in classical Latin the Gerundive is preferred if the Verb is one which governs the Accusative, e. g. agitandae sunt vigiliae, but still as before, imperandum est servis, carendum est urbe; and the transition from the impersonal to the personal mode of expression, marked by a construction like Plautus' nominandi istorum copia (a construction allowed by Cicero with a Gen. Pl. for the sake of euphony, e.g. facultas agrorum condonandi) is like the transition from 'factum itur contumeliam' to Cato's 'contumelia factum itur' (§ 15 *n.*).

In the third and fourth Conjugations we find in Early Lat. both *-ondo-* (e.g. *agundus*) and *-endo-* (e. g. *agendus*), the latter being selected as the classical form (but *secundus* beside *sequendus*). This *agondo-* has been referred to a possible **agom*, Acc. Sg. of a Verbal Noun, with *do-*, a Verbal Adj. stem meaning 'giving' or

[1] Curiously enough the construction of the Gerundive Gen. of Purpose, e. g. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59 Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis, occurs not only in the early Latin writers, e. g. Lucilius, but also was a usage of the Umbrian language, so that its antiquity cannot be denied.

'causing'. Similarly *luendus* to **luem-dus* (cf. *lues*), *curandus* to **curam-dus* (cf. *cura*), *ruben-dus* to **rubem-dus* (cf. *rubē-facio*). The combination of Active and Passive sense which is so peculiar a feature of the Latin Gerundive forms, e.g. 'agitandum est vigilias' Act., and 'agitandae sunt vigiliae' Pass., may be explained from the double sense that can be attached to an expression like *ruborem dare*, (1) to blush, Neut., (2) to cause to blush, Act.

With the Gerundive suffix are evidently connected the suffixes of Adjectives in *-bundo-*, *-cundo-*, &c., e.g. *errābundus*, *irācundus*, *fācundus* (from *fari*), *rubĭcundus*, *rotundus*. The *b* of the first of these seems to belong to the root bheu- of *fui*, &c., the *c* of the second to the Diminutive suffix seen in *rubi-care*, *albi-care*, &c., to be red, to be white, &c.

§ **19. The Person-endings.** The I.-Eur. Person-endings were slightly different in Primary Tenses (the Present Ind., Future Ind., &c.) and in Secondary Tenses (the Preterites Ind., the Tenses of the Optative Mood, &c.). Thus -tĭ was the 3 Sg. Primary suffix, -t the 3 Sg. Secondary suffix of the Active Voice. In the Perfect Tense an entirely different set of Endings was in use, e.g. -ă 1 Sg. Act., -thă 2 Sg., &c.; and in the Imperative the persons were often distinguished by the addition of Particles (see § 14).

In Passive and Deponent Verbs, Latin departs widely from the I.-Eur. scheme of Passive or Middle Person-endings (contrast Lat. *feror*, *sequor* with Gk. *φέρο-μαι*, *ἕπο-μαι*, *ferĭmur*, *sequĭmur* with Gk. *φερό-μεθα*, *ἑπό-μεθα*).

Latin, as well as the kindred languages of ancient Italy and the Celtic family of languages, uses as the characteristic mark of its passive and deponent flexion the letter *r* (cf. Old Irish sĕchur 1 Sg., sechĕthar 3 Sg., sechemmar 1 Pl., sechetar 3 Pl. with Lat. *sequor, sequitur, sequimur, sequuntur*). This *r* cannot, as was once believed, be connected with the Reflexive Pronoun swĕ- (ch. v. § 1) (Lat. *sĕ* Acc.), seeing that *s* between vowels does not become *r* in the Celtic languages as in Latin (ch. x. § 19), so that Irish sechur could not represent a form *sequo-sĕ*. On the early Impersonal use of these *r*-forms, see § 6.

§ 20. (*a*) **Active. 1 Sg.** The Primary suffix of the Athematic Conjugation (§ 1) was *-mĭ* (e. g. Gk. *τίθη-μι, εἰμί*, I am, for *ἐσ-μι*, Lat. *sum*); in the Thematic the 1 Pers. ended in *-ō* (e.g. Gk. *λέγω*, Lat. *lego*). The suffix in the secondary Tenses of both Conjugations was *-m*, e. g. Gk. *ἔ-φερο-ν*, for **ἐφερομ*, Lat. *eram, sim* (an Optative, § 13), *ama-bam, amaveram*, &c. The Latin Perfect shows the I.-Eur. Middle ending -ai, e. g. *dedi*, older *dedei, vidi* older *veidei*. (On *-ei* from earlier *-ai*, see ch. ii. § 14.)

2 Sg. -sĭ and -s were the I.-Eur. suffixes (e. g. Gk. *τίθη-ς, ἔ-φερε-ς*, Hom. Gk. *ἐσ-σί*; Lat. *ĕs* [earlier *ess*, ch. ii. § 9], *agis* [earlier **agĕs*, ch. ii. § 14], *eras*). The Latin Perfect shows *-stī*, older *-stei*, e.g. *dedisti*. (On the Imperative 2 Sg. Act., see § 14.)

3 Sg. -tĭ (Primary) and -t (Secondary) were the I.-Eur. endings (e. g. Gk. *ἐσ-τί, τίθη-σι* for *τιθη-τι, ἔ-φερε* for **ἐ-φερε-τ*; Lat. *est, agit* [earlier **aget*, ch. ii. § 14], *erat*). The Secondary ending often appears in Early Latin as *d*,

e. g. *feced* 'fecit', *sied* 'sit' on the Dvenos inscription, *esed* 'erit' on the Forum inscription. In the Latin Perfect the ending was *-eit* (class. *-ĭt*, ch. ii. § 16), being the I.-Eur. Middle ending *-ai* (Lat. *-ei*) with *t* added to distinguish it from the First Person which likewise ended in *-ai* (Lat. *-ei*). The long quantity *-īt* is found in Plautus and the older writers; and even in Ovid we have it after *i* in the compounds of *eo*, e. g. *interīt*, *abīt*, *redīt*. (On the Imperative 3 Sg. Act., see § 14.)

1 Plur. In Latin we have in all tenses the ending *-mŏs* (class. *-mŭs*, ch. ii. § 14), while in the other I.-Eur. languages we have a variety of endings, e. g. Att. Gk. *φέρο-μεν*, *ἐ-φέρο-μεν*, Dor. Gk. *φέρο-μες*, *ἐ-φέρο-μες*.

2 Plur. The ending *-tĕ* of Gk. *φέρε-τε*, *ἐ-φέρε-τε*, &c., appears in Latin only in the Imperative, e. g. *fer-te*. (On the 2 Plur. of the Future Imperative in *-tōtĕ*, e. g. *fertote*, see § 14.) Elsewhere it was replaced by *-tĭs* (older *-tĕs*, ch. ii. § 14), e. g. *fer-tis* (cf. *dedistis*).

3 Plur. The I.-Eur. suffixes end with *-ĭ* in Primary but not in Secondary Tenses, viz. *-ŏntĭ* (*-entĭ*, *-ᵉntĭ*, ch. x. § 12) and *-ōnt* (*-ent*, *-ᵉnt*). The form *tremonti* for *tremunt* is quoted from an interesting passage, but one of doubtful reading, from the Carmen Saliare:

Cumne (?) tonas, Leucesie, prai tet tremonti,

'cum tonas, Leucesie, prae te tremunt', and *-ont* is often found in the early literature and inscriptions, e. g. *cosentiont*, 'consentiunt' on a Scipio epitaph (ch. iv. § 3 *n.*). The endings of the Perfect, *-ĕrunt* and *-ēre* (earlier *-ērĭ*) are difficult to explain. The Roman Grammarians, without any apparent reason, declared the latter to be a Dual

ending. The Imperative seems to add the same particle **tōd*, as is seen in the 2 and 3 Sg. (§ 14), to a 3 Pl. form, e. g. *ferunto* for **feront-tōd*.

In Old Latin we find 3 Pl. Pres. Ind. forms in *-nunt*, e. g. *dānunt* 'dant', *nequīnont* 'nequeunt', *explēnunt* 'explent', which have been explained by the theory that the 3 Pl. of the Pres. Ind. had once ended in *-u*, **dan*, **nequīn*, **explēn*, and that these forms were a second time provided with a 3 Pl. suffix, much as Greek εἶ, thou art, for **ἐσι*, took a fresh 2 Sg. suffix and became εἶς.

§ 21. (β) **Passive (Deponent).** **1 Sg.** The Italo-Celtic ending was -ōr in the Pres. Ind., e. g. O. Lat. *sequōr*, class. *sequŏr* (ch. ii. § 16), O. Ir. sĕchur, apparently an addition of Passive -r (§ 6) to the Active ending -ō (§ 20). Those Tenses and Moods which in Latin formed their 1 Sg. Act. in *-m* substitute in the Passive *-r* for *-m*, e. g. *fera-r* Fut. and Subj., *fereba-r* Impft., except in the Perfect group, where a periphrastic form is used, e. g. *latus sim*, *latus essem*, not 'tulerir', 'tulisser'; also *latus ero*, not 'tuleror'.

2 Sg. Of the endings *-rĭs*, *-rĕ*, the latter is usual in Early Latin and even in Cicero. They are most simply explained as mere by-forms, since final *s* after a short vowel was slurred in the earlier pronunciation (p. 40 *n.*). We may suppose that originally the *s* remained before a word beginning with a vowel and was dropped before a word beginning with a consonant, e. g. *amaberis hodie*, *amabere cras*. But in the Imperative 2 Sg., where only *-rĕ* is found, this *-rĕ* can hardly be anything but I.-Eur. *-sŏ* (e. g. Gk. ἕπου for *ἕπεο*, from *ἕπε-σο*, Lat. *seque-re*,

p. 35 *n.*). Therefore some think that *-rĭs* merely adds to this the ending *-s* of the 2 Sg. Act., **sequere-s* becoming *sequeris* (ch. ii. § 14).

3 Sg. The Italo-Celtic ending is tŏr (e.g. Lat. *sequitur* from **sequetŏr*, O. Ir. sechĕthar), formed by adding Passive -r to the I.-Eur. Secondary ending -tŏ (e.g. Gk. ἐ-φέρε-το). The Imperative changes to *-r* the *-d* of the Particle -tōd, which it appends to its bare stem in the Active (§ 14), e.g. *fertor* Pass. beside *ferto(d)* Act.

1 Plur. The Italo-Celtic ending is -mŏr (e.g. Lat. *sequimur* for **sequŏmŏr*, O. Ir. sechemmar), formed by changing to *r* the *s* of the Active -mŏs (§ 20).

2 Plur. In Latin the Nom. Plur. of the old Pres. Part. Pass. is used with ellipse of *estis*, e.g. *ferĭmĭnī*, (Gk. φερόμενοι, § 17), in the Present Tense and analogical formations in the others, e.g. *fereba-mini*, *fera-mini*, *ferre-mini*. The 2 Pl. Imper. *ferimini* is probably the same with ellipse of *este*, though some make it an old Infinitive (Gk. φερέμεναι) used in Imperatival sense.

3 Plur. The Italo-Celtic ending is -ntŏr (e.g. Lat. *sequuntur* from **sequŏntŏr*, O. Ir. sechetar), formed by adding Passive *r* to the I.-Eur. Secondary ending -ntŏ (Gk. ἐ-φέρο-ντο). (Cf. Gk. ἔμ-πλη-ντο with Lat. *imple-ntur*). In the Imperative the *d* of the particle -tōd appended in the 3 Pl. Act. (§ 20) is changed to *-r*, e.g. *feruntor* Pass. beside *ferunto(d)* Act.

§ 22. Scheme of the Latin Person-endings.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
	Active.	
	I. Ind.	
1 Pers.	*-m(i)* (Athematic Primary), e. g. *sum.* *-ō* (Thematic Primary), e. g. *lego.* *-m* (Secondary), e. g. *eram, legebam.*	*-mŏs*, class. *-mŭs*, e. g. *sumus, legimus; eramus, legebamus.*
2 Pers.	*-s(i)* (Prim.), e. g. *es* for **es-s(i)*, *legis* from **legĕs (i).* *-s* (Sec.), e. g. *eras, legebas.*	*-tĭs*, class. *-tĭs*, e. g. *estis, legitis; eratis, legebatis.*
3 Pers.	*-t(i)* (Prim.), e. g. *est, legit* from **legĕt(i).* *-t* (Sec.), e. g. *erat, legebat.*	*-nt(i)* (Prim.), e. g. *sunt, legunt* from *legŏnti.* *-nt* (Sec.), e. g. *erant, legebant.* (But see ch. x. § 17.)
	II. Imperat.	
1 Pers.	(the Subjunctive is used), e. g. *legam.*	(the Subjunctive is used), e. g. *legamus.*
2 Pers.	Pres. (the Verb-stem is used), e.g. *es* (Athem.), *lege* (Them.). 'Fut.' (adds tō (d) 'thereupon'), e.g. *es-to, legito* from **lege-tod.*	*-tĕ*, e. g. *es-te; legi-te.* *-tōte*, e. g. *es-tote, legi-tote.*
3 Pers.	(same as 2 Pers. 'Fut.').	*-ntō* from *-ntō(d)*, e.g. *sunto, legunto.*
	Passive and Middle.	
	I. Ind.	
1 Pers.	*-ōr* (Act. *-ō*), class. *-ŏr*, e. g. *legor.* *-r* (Act. *-m*), e. g. *legebar.*	*-mŏr*, class. *-mŭr*, e.g. *legimur.*
2 Pers.	*-ris* and (its weak pronunciation?) *-rĕ*, e.g. *legeris, legere.*	(Nom. Pl. Masc. of Pres. Part. Pass. is used), e. g. *legimini.*
3 Pers.	*-tŏr*, class. *-tŭr*, e. g. *legitur.*	*-ntŏr*, class. *-ntŭr*, e. g. *leguntur.*
	II. Imperat.	
1 Pers.	(the Subjunctive is used), e.g. *legar.*	(the Subjunctive is used), e. g. *legamur.*
2 Pers.	*-rĕ* from *-sŏ*, e.g. *legere.*	(the Nom. Plur. Masc. of the Pres. Part. Pass.), e.g. *legimini.*
3 Pers.	*-tŏr*, class. *-tŏr*, e.g. *legitor.*	*-ntŏr*, class. *-ntŏr*, e.g. *leguntor.*

§ 23. **Some Irregular Verbs.**

The irregularity of many verbs consists in their use of different roots for different tenses. The Substantive Verb shows the root ES- in some tenses, the root BHEU- in others, e.g. Perf. *fui*; and the heteroclite conjugation of verbs like 'to be', 'to go', seems to date from the I.-Eur. period. Other Latin examples are *fio* (for **fwĭo*, from bhw-, a weakened form of the root bheu-) and *factus sum*; *ferio* and *percussi*; *fero* and *tuli* (from the root of *tollo*, Gk. τετλάναι); *tollo* (for **tol-no*) and *sustuli* (Compound with Prep. *sub, subs*); *vescor* and *pastus sum*; *arguor* and *convictus sum*; *reminiscor* and *recordatus sum*; *medeor* and *medicatus sum*; *surgo* differs from *surrexi* and *surrectus* in being syncopated (cf. *porgo* and *porrĭgo*); *vis* beside *volo* comes from a root *vei-* (whence *invitus*), which had the same meaning as the root *vel-*, to wish. (On *vel-*, e.g. *velim*, and *vol-*, e.g. *volo*, see ch. ii. § 8.)

Other verbs, classed as Irregular, are the Defective Verbs: *coepi*, the Present of which, *coepio*, is found in O. Lat., e.g. neque ego lites coepio, Plaut., and is a compound of *cum* and *apio*, to fasten, whence *apiscor* and *aptus*; *inquam*, perhaps a Subj.-Fut., 'I will say', from the root *seq^{u}-*, to speak (cf. O. Lat. *insĕque* or *insece*[1]), other parts of which are Pres. Ind. *inquis, inquit, inquiunt* and Imper. *inque* (Plaut.); *aio*, for **ahio* from the root agh-, 'to say', and *infit* are other Defective Verbs of kindred meaning to *inquam*. (Cf. our Defect. Vb. 'quoth'.)

The irregularity of Verbs like *sum, eo, volo*, &c.,

[1] Ennius' translation of ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα was: inseque (insece,) Musa.

consists, as we have seen (§ 1), in their having belonged to the Athematic Conjugation (hence 1 Pl. *sumus, volumus* with *ŭ* not *ĭ*), of which there are not so many remains in Latin as in Greek (e.g. all the Greek verbs in *-μι* are athematic). *Edo*, to eat, is thematic in 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. *ĕd-ō*, but athematic in the other persons, which are distinguished from similar parts of *sum* by their long vowel, e.g. *ēst* 'eats', *ēssem* Impft. Subj. for **ed-sem*, *ēsse* Inf. for **ed-se*. *Fero* has been attracted into the Athematic Conj., *fer-s* 2 Sg., *fer-t* 3 Sg., *ferrem* Impft. Subj., for **fer-sem*, *ferre* Inf. for **fer-se*, *fer* Imper. *Do* (root DŌ-, in weak form Lat. *dă-*) was originally athematic and must have been declined **dōm(i)* **dō-s*, **dō-t*, **dă-mos*, **dă-tes*, *dant* (cf. Gk. *δίδωμι*, *δίδομεν*, and cf. ch. x. § 12); but the *ă* of *dămus, dătis*, &c., has caused its partial transference to the First Conjugation type. (On *cĕ-dŏ*, Imperat., see § 14.) It was confused with another *-do*, meaning 'to place' or 'put' (root DHĒ-, Gk. *τί-θη-μι*), to which belong the Compounds *condo*, 'to put together', *subdo*, 'to put under', &c., and which must have been declined **con-dē-m(i)*, **con-dē-s*, **con-dē-t*, **con-dă-mos*, **condă-tes*, &c. Here the *ĭ* to which *ă* was reduced in the unaccented syllable (ch. ii. § 14), *con-dĭ-mus, con-dĭ-tis*, &c., caused the transference of *condo, subdo*, &c., to the Third Conjugation type. I.-Eur. dh when initial became *f* in Latin (ch. x. § 17), so that the simple verb would be **fē-m(i)*, **fē-s*, with Plur. ** fămos*, &c. A derivative from this is *făc-io*, with the *c* of which we may perhaps compare the *κ* of Gk. *ἔ-θηκ-α*. *Sto* was another Athematic Verb (root STĀ-, Gk. *ἵστημι* for **στί-στᾱ-μι*, Pl. *ἵ-στᾰ-μεν*), with

an original declension, **stā-m(i)*, *stā-s*, *stā-t*, **stă-mos*, **stă-tes*, *stant*, but in a verb of this kind the transference to the First Conjugation was easy. *Sto* seems to have had also in Early Latin the transitive sense of Gk. ἵστημι, but in class. Lat. this sense was confined to the transitive form *si-sto* (Gk. ἵστημι for *σι-στᾱ-μι), which appears as a Third Conj. Verb. *Prae-sto* 'I afford', 'set before', is transitive, *prae-sto* 'I excel', 'stand before', is neuter. Both are to be distinguished from *praes-(s)to* 'I guarantee', 'stand as bail'.

Compounds of these Athematic Verbs are *possum*, *nōlo*, *mālo*. *Possum* is found in the older writers in its uncompounded form *potis sum* and *pote sum*, e.g. *potis est* Lucr. i. 452, *potesse* i. 665. *Pote* is not only the Neuter but also the careless pronunciation of Masc. (and Fem.) *potis* (p. 40 *n.*). This led to the indiscriminate use of *potis* and *pote* for any gender, number or case, e.g. potis est, 'it is possible' Ter. *Phorm.* 379; credo equidem potis esse te, scelus, Plaut. *Possum* stands for *pote-sum* (on the Syncope of *-ĕ* see ch. ii. § 12), *possim* for *pote-sim*, &c.; and *possem*, *posse* (for *potessem*, *potesse*) have followed their analogy. *Mālo*, a contraction of *māvolo* (Plaut.), comes similarly from *măgĕ* (a by-form of *magis*) united into a word-group (ch. ii. § 11) with *vŏlo*; and *nōlo* from the Negative *nĕ-* and *vōlo*. **Mág(e)-volo* became *mavvolo*, written *māvolo*; **nĕ-volo* (O. Lat. *nĕ-vis*, *nĕ-volt*) became **nŏvvolo* (ch. x. § 4) and with loss of *v* between vowels (ch. ii. § 12) *nōlo*. The Imperat. *nōli* may be due to the use of *nolīs* (Opt.) in Imperatival sense, the *-s* being dropped to suit the type of the Imperative 2 Sg.

CHAPTER VII

ADVERBS

§ 1. **Origin of Latin Adverbs.** I.-Eur. Adverbs were for the most part cases of Nouns, Adjectives, and Pronouns. The cases most frequently found in Latin are the Accusative (cf. Gk. *πρότερον* Acc. Sg. Neut., *μακράν* Acc. Sg. Fem., *κρύφα* Acc. Pl. Neut.), the Ablative (or Instrumental? cf. Gk. *ἄλλη, λάθρᾱ*), and Locative (cf. Gk. *οἴκοι, ἀναιμωτεί, ἑκοντί*). Often we find Latin Adverbs retaining case-forms which have become obsolete in the ordinary declension. Thus *-im*, the original form of the Acc. Sg. ending of I-stems (ch. iii. § 8), which in classical Latin was replaced by the *-em* of Consonant-stems (e.g. *partem* from the stem *parti-*, like *militem* from the stem *milit-*), is retained in Adverbs like *partim*, and in the Adverbial Accusatives of Verbal Noun I-stems. Examples of these are: *raptim* from an old **raptis*,[1] *-is* Gen. (Verbal Noun of *rapio*), *sensim* from **sensis* (Verbal Noun of *sentio*), *uni-versim* from **versis* (Verbal Noun of *verto*). Again *nox*, an old equivalent of *noctu*, seems to be an early by-form of *noctis* Gen.; *-ē* (older *-ēd*), the suffix by which Adverbs derived from Adjective O-stems are formed in Latin, is an Abl. Sg. suffix (parallel with *-ō*, earlier *-ōd*, ch. iii. § 6), which has been reserved for

[1] These old Verbal Nouns in *-tis*, *-sis* became obsolete and were replaced by IŌN-stems, *raptio*, *-onis* Gen., *dissensio*, *-onis* Gen., *versio*, *-onis* Gen. (ch. xi. § 12).

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Adverbs alone. The Adverbial suffix *-tus* (I.-Eur. tŏs) of *fundĭ-tus*,[1] *divinŭ-tus*, &c., is in some I.-Eur. languages used to form the Abl. case of Nouns.

The Adverbs derived from Pronouns, e.g. *ibi*, *illinc* (i.e. *illim* with the Particle *-ce*, ch. v. § 4), are not easily referred to their proper cases, owing to our ignorance of the full number of the case-suffixes used in the I.-Eur. declension of the Pronoun (cf. ch. v. § 4).

Often an independent word has been relegated to the function of an Adverbial suffix. Thus *versus* and *versum* (older *vorsus*, *vorsum*, ch. x. § 8), the Nom. and Acc. Sg. of the Perf. Part. Pass. of *verto*, appear in *quāquāversus* (*-m*), *aliōrorsum* (contracted *aliorsum*, ch. ii. § 12), *retrōvorsum* (contracted *retrōrsum*, *retrōsum*), *rūrsus* (*-m*) for *reversus* (*-m*). *Tenus* of *hāctenus*, *aliquātenus*, &c., is the Acc. Sg., used adverbially, of the old neuter noun *tenus*, a stretching (ch. xi. § 18), used by Plautus in the sense of a string or snare (ch. viii. § 39). In the Romance languages *mente*, Abl. of *mens*, is the chief Adverbial suffix, and is often added to already formed Adverbs, e.g. Ital. quasimente.

Adverbs like *aliovorsum*, *aliquatenus* are thus really composed of two independent words *alio vorsum*, *aliqua tenus*. Other examples of Adverbial word-groups are (1), Prep. and Noun : *ad-fătim*, sufficiently, lit. 'to weariness' (cf. *fatigo*) ; *ad-mŏdum* ; *de-nuo* for *de novo* (ch. ii. § 14) ; *sēdŭlo* from *se*, an old by-form of *sine* (ch. viii. § 36) and

[1] Lit. 'from the base'. Plautus once (Pseud. 132 uses *penitus* Adv. in the sense of 'from within the house' : *ipse egreditur penitus*, but elsewhere makes it an Adj., e.g. *faucibus penitissimis*.

dolo (cf. Plaut. *dicam sedulo* and *haud dicam dolo* 'I will tell the truth'); *ī-līco* from *in* and *sloco* (old form of *loco*, ch. x. § 19); (2) Verb and Verb: *ī-licet*, *scī-licet*, *vide-licet* (p. 142), perhaps for *ire-licet*, &c.; (3) Conj. and Verb *dum-taxat* (ch. v. § 7 *n.*), &c.

The Comparative Degree of the Adverbs derived from Adjectives is in Latin, as in Greek, expressed by the Acc. Sg. Neut. of the Comparative of the Adjective, e.g. *pejus*, *longius* (Gk. σοφώτερον); the Superlative by the old Abl. Sg. in *-ē* (older *-ēd*) of the Superl. of the Adj., as *pessime*, *longissime* (in Greek by the Acc. Pl. Neut., e.g. σοφώτατα). Adjectives (and Participles) of the Second Declension (O-stems) form their Adverbs in *-um* (Acc. Sg. Neut.), *-ē* (Abl. Sg.) or *-ō* (Abl. Sg.); Adjectives of the Third Declension, in *-ter* (Nom. Sg. Masc., § 2), e.g. *multum*, *amice*, *subito*, *breviter*; but in the earlier literature Adverbs in *-ter* from O-stem Adjectives are common, e.g. *amiciter*. Cicero in his earlier writings used *humaniter*, but finally discarded it for *humane*.

§ 2. **Nominative Adverb forms.** The Nom. Sg. Masc. of an Adjective might become an Adverb by being used without reference to number or gender. Just as *potis*, M. F., able (Gk. πόσις, a master), became crystallized, so to speak, when used with *esse*,—*potis sum*, *potis es*, *potis est ille*, *potis est illud* (ch. vi. § 23), so *rūrsus* (*reversus*) gradually passed into an Adverb when it came to be used, not merely in phrases like *rursus eo*, *rursus is*, *rursus it ille*, but also in *rursus it illa*, *rursus eunt illi*. In the earlier literature *rursum* (Acc. Sg. Neut.) competes with *rursus*, *prōrsum* (*prō-vorsum*) with *prorsus*, *sūrsus* (*sub-versus*) with

sursum, dēmus (cf. Gk. *τῆμος*) with *demum*, &c.; but by the classical period one of the rival forms generally has the monopoly, e.g. *rursus, prorsus, sursum, demum*. Such Latin Nom. Adverb forms end in (1) **-s**, e.g. *rursus*, and other compounds of *versus; deinceps*, in O. Lat. declined, *deincipis* Gen., *deincipi* Dat., &c., like *princeps; ēminus* and *cŏmminus* (ch. ii. § 10), compounds of *manus*, as Gk. *αὐτόχειρ* of *χείρ*; *intrīnsecus, extrinsecus*, &c., compounds of an old Adj. *secus*, following (cf. *secundus*). (2) **-r**. This is a very numerous class, comprising all the Adverbs in **-ter**, e.g. *breviter*. These are Nominatives Singular: cf. a formation with the suffix -tĕrŏ- (ch. xi. § 8), which in Greek often assumed a Comparative sense (eg. *βραχύτερος*, shorter), but not always, e.g. *δεξιτερός*, on the right, not 'more on the right'. Thus *breviter* corresponds exactly in formation to Gk. *βραχύτερος*, as *ager* to Gk. *ἀγρός* (ch. iii. § 6). The *i* before *ter* belonged properly to Adverbs from I-stem or O-stem Adjectives (e.g. *breviter* from *brevis*, stem *brevi-*, *humaniter* for **humanŏ-ter*, ch. ii. § 14, beside *audāc-ter* from *audax*, stem *audāc-*), but has been extended to Cons.-stem Adjectives too, e.g. *fallaciter* from *fallax*. NT-stems have *-nter*, e.g. *vehementer, impudenter*, by Dissimilation, for *-nti-ter* (ch. x. § 20). On *simulter* from **simli-ter, faculter* from **facli-ter*, see ch. ii. § 12. Another example of an Adverb in *-r* is *nūper*, Nom. Sg. Masc. of an Adj. *nupero-*, for **nori-pero-*, from *novus* and *paro*. The Adj. is used by Plautus *Capt.* 718:

> Recéns captum hominem, núperum, novícium,
> 'A man just captured, newly acquired, a newcomer.'

§ 3. **Accusative Adverb forms.** The Adverbial use of the Accusative Case was a great feature of I.-Eur. syntax. In Homer, for example, we find that δεινόν, βαρύ, &c., are the usual Adverb forms, not δεινῶς, βαρέως. In Latin we have (1) Acc. Sg. Neut. of Adj. in **-um**, e.g. *commodum* (beside *commode*); *plērumque* from an old Adj. *plērus*,[1] connected with *plēnus*, full; *sursum*, and other compounds of *versum* (see § 2); a few Superlatives like *minimum* (usually *minime*), *potissimum*; in **-e**, e.g. *facilĕ*, an old form of which was *facul* (ch. ii. § 12), used by Lucilius in his description of the Roman patricians:

> Peccare inpune rati sunt
> Posse, et nobilitate facul propellere iniquos,

simul (older *semul*), the Acc. Sg. Neut. of *similis* and still used like *similiter* in Plaut., e.g. Men. 748 novi cum Calcha simul 'I know him as well as I know Calchas'; *impūne* from *impunis* (*in* and *poena*, ch. xi. § 12), but I-stem Adjs. as a rule formed their Adverbs in *-iter*, the formation in *-ĕ* being reserved for poetry, e.g. dulce ridentem ... dulce loquentem, Hor. (2) Acc. Sg. Fem. of Adj. in **-am**, e.g. *perpĕram*, falsely, wrongly (sc. *viam*), from *perpĕrus* (*per* and *paro*), with the same sense of *per* as in *perjūrus*, swearing falsely (Gk. πάρα of παρακόπτω, I forge money, &c.) (ch. viii. § 26). (3) Acc. Pl. Fem. in **-as**, e.g. *alias* (sc. *vices*). The Acc. Pl. Neut., e.g. *torva tueri*, is almost confined to poetry. (4) Acc. Sg. of Noun, in **-tim**, e.g. *praesertim* from *sero*, lit. 'in the front row'; *tolūtim*, at a trot (connected with *tollo*); *passim* from *pando*; *statim*,

[1] E.g. Pacuvius: periére Danai, pléra pars pessúm datast, 'the Danai are lost, the greater part gone down.'

at once, lit. 'standing', 'on the spot' (like *ilico*, § 1); and many in *-ātim* derived from Nouns, e.g. *guttatim*, in drops, from *gutta*, *gradatim* from *gradus*. The Nouns in *-tis* have, as has been mentioned, become obsolete, being replaced by forms in *-tio*, e.g. *statio*. But the Nouns remain from which other Acc. Sg. Adverbs are derived, e.g. *vicem*, *maximam partem*, *id genus* (cf. Gk. χάριν, Acc. Sg. of χάρις). *Virile secus* (e.g. trecenti occisi sunt virile secus, 'three hundred were killed of the male sex') is either Acc. or else Nom. in Apposition (cf. coronamenta —omne genus—serantur). Adverbs in **-fāriam,** indicating division, e.g. *bĭ-fariam*, *quadrĭ-fariam*, are Acc. Sg. Fem. of Adjs. in *-farius* (cf. Gk. *-φᾰσιος* from *-φατιος*, e.g. τριφάσιος).

§ **4. Abl. and Locative Adverb forms.** From O-Stem Adjs. we have Abl. Adverb forms in (1) **-ē**, older *-ēd*, e.g. *facillime*, which is written on the S. C. Bacch. FACILVMED (this is the usual formation of Superlative Adverbs), *valde* (*valide* Plaut.), *ferme*, Superl. of *fere*; (2) **-ō**, older *-ōd*, e.g. *certo* (beside *certe*), *vero* (beside *vere*). (On *citŏ*, *modŏ*, *benĕ*, *malĕ*, see ch. ii. § 16.) From O-Stem Nouns we have, e.g. *vulgo* (from *vulgus*), *principio*. The Third Declension 'Abl.' (originally a Consonant-stem Locative, ch. iii. § 8) in *-ĕ* appears in *forte*, *sponte*, *opere* of *magnŏpere* (for *magnō ŏpere*), *tantŏpere*, &c., *temerĕ*, lit. 'in the dark', from a lost Neuter **temus*, *-eris*, darkness. The Abl. Pl. in **-is** is seen in *gratis* (*gratiis* Plaut.), for nothing, lit. 'for mere thanks' (cf. Ter. si non pretio, at gratiis); *foris*, outside, lit. 'at the doors' from *fora*, a door (Gk. θύρα), used with verbs of rest, e.g. *foris manere*, while

foras, the Acc. Pl., is used in a phrase like *foras exire*, to go outside. Of Abl. Sg. Fem. in **-ā** examples are *eādem* (sc. *opera*), at the same time, *dexterā* (sc. *parte*), on the right, *rectā* (sc. *via*), directly, *extrā*, *suprā*, *contrā*, &c. The Abl. Sg. Neut. of the last is seen in *contrō-versia*; the Acc. Pl. perhaps in O. Lat. *contrā* (with *frustrā*, *juxtā*).

§ 5. **Pronominal Adverbs.** These show various suffixes: (1) **-bī** (older *-bei*) with locative sense, e. g. *ibī*, *ubī* (on *ibĭ*, *ubĭ* see ch. ii. § 16); (2) **-ī** (older -ei), the Locative O-stem suffix, e. g. O. Lat. *illi*, *isti*, there, which in classical Latin always have the particle *-ce* appended (ch. v. § 4), *illī-c*, *istī-c*; (3) **-ō** (older *-ōd*), which looks like Abl. Sg. Neut., but indicates motion to (originally route or direction?), e. g. *eo*, *quo*, *isto*, *alio*, *porro*. O. Lat. *hoc*, *istoc*, *illoc* are probably Acc. Sg. Neut., for class. Lat. *huc*, *istuc*, *illuc* points to *-ŏc* with short *o*, but with *c* doubled in pronunciation (ch. v. § 3); (4) **-ā** (older *-ad*), Abl. Sg. Fem., indicating direction, manner, &c., e. g. *qua*, *ea*, *praeter-ea*; (5) **-im**, which looks like Acc. Sg., but indicates motion from, e.g. *illim*, *istim*, which in class. Lat. always append the particle *-ce*, *illinc*, *istinc* (cf. *hinc*, *dehinc*); (6) **-nde**, with similar sense, in *unde*, *inde*; this *inde* is shortened by Syncope of the final vowel (ch. ii. § 12) to *-in* in the Compounds *proin*, *dein*, *exin*, &c. Other endings like **-dam** of *quondam* (cf. *quidam*, ch. v. § 7), **-dem** of *quĭdem*, *tandem*, with the sense of 'exactly', 'precisely' in *ibi-dem*, *tantī-dem* (cf. *īdem* for *is-dem*, ch. v. § 3, and *is demum*), **-tem** of *ĭtem*, **-ta** of *ĭ-ta*, are apparently case-forms of

pronominal stems (cf. ch. v. § 3), as **-quam** of *unquam*, *usquam* (cf. *quisquam*, ch. v. § 7) appears to be Acc. Sg. Fem. of the stem *quo-* (ch. v. § 6). *Saltim*, lit. 'by a leap', Acc. Sg. of an old Verbal Noun **saltis* from *salio* (§ 3), became in class. Lat. *saltem* on the analogy of *autem*, *ĭtem*, &c.

§ 6. **Adverbial word-groups.** Other examples are: (1) in **-per**, *parum-per*, from *parum*, Acc. Sg. Neut. of *parus*, little, a by-form of *parvus*, and the Preposition *per*; *sem-per* from **sĕm* 'one', Acc. Sg. Neut. (Gk. ἕν for sem) and the same Preposition;[1] so *paulis-per*, *tantis-per*, *aliquantis-per*, and in O. Lat. *topper*, immediately (for **tod-per*. (On tŏd, Gk. τό(δ), Acc. Sg. Neut. of Demonstr. stem tŏ-, see ch. v. § 3.) (On *nuper*, see § 2.)

From *ob-viam* was formed the Adj. *obvius*, as from *sē-dulo* (cf. *se dulo malo* in an old Agrarian Law), the Adj. *sedulus*. Like *obviam* (and *inter-vias* with *vias* Acc. Pl.) is *ob-iter*, a word regarded with suspicion by purists, though the Emperor Augustus gave it his sanction, and reproved Tiberius for using *per viam* instead. *Ilicet*, *scilicet*, *videlicet* have in the earlier writers the construction of *ire licet*, *scire licet*, *videre licet*,[2] e. g. Plautus *Capt.* 469:

> Ílicet parasiticae arti máxumam malám crucem,
> 'The profession of diner-out may go hang itself on the highest possible gallows.'

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[1] The Adj. *sempiternus* stands for **semperternus* as *praestigiae* for *praestrigiae* (ch. x. § 20).

[2] So also *fortasse*, which may come from a lost verb **fortare* from *fortis* (like *affirmare* from *firmus*) meaning 'to assert', and may be the Imperative Mood of a Tense like *amasso* from *amare* or, more

Lucretius i. 210:

Esse videlicet in terris primordia rerum.

Virgil revived the use of *ilicet*, but gave it curiously the sense of *ilico*, e. g. *Aen.* xi. 468:

Ilicet in muros tota discurritur urbe.

A Preposition with a Noun (or Adj.) appears also in *in-cassum*, in vain, lit. 'into the empty' (cf. *cassa nux* Plaut.); *im-primis* and *cum-primis*. *Actūtum* is perhaps Neut. of an Adj. **actutus* (formed like *astutus*, *artutus*, *versutus*).

probably, Ind. 2 Sg. (a careless pronunciation of the correct form *fortassis*; see p. 40 *n.*) Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 36 te fortasse dicere, 'perhaps you say', lit. 'you will assert that you say.'

CHAPTER VIII

PREPOSITIONS

§ 1. **History of Latin Prepositions.** Prepositions are Adverbs, which came to be specially used in connexion with certain cases of the Noun or in composition with a Verb. In the early stage of I.-Eur. languages the cases alone were sufficient to indicate the sense, but as the force of the Case-suffixes became weakened, or as the necessity for clearer definition was more recognized, the Case-suffix was strengthened by the addition of an Adverb. Thus *ire monte* might mean 'to go out of the mountain' or 'to go down from the mountain'. To indicate the first sense, the Adverb *ex* was used, *ire monte ex*; to indicate the second, the Adverb *de*, *ire monte de*; *ex-ire monte*, *de-ire monte*. Those Adverbs which, owing to their meaning, are most frequently associated with particular cases of Nouns, or are used in composition with Verbs, are called Prepositions; and the process by which Latin Adverbs became Prepositions may be seen in operation at various periods of the language. Thus *contra*, which has hardly passed the Adverb stage with Plautus and Terence, is a Preposition in classical Latin and governs an Accusative Case; *coram* is not a Preposition till Cicero's time; *simul* in Augustan poetry and Silver Age prose; *retro* not till Late Latin (e.g. *vade retro me*, 'get thee behind me'). It is customary now in writing Latin to write the Prepo-

sition and the Verb in one word, e. g. *exire*, but not the Preposition and the Noun, e. g. *ex monte*, although the Romans usually wrote *exmonte*, &c., and always pronounced the Prep. and Noun as one word-group (ch. ii. § 11). This close union of the Preposition with its Verb and Noun led at an early time to the syncope of the final short syllable of a Preposition, e. g. *indŏ-gredior* became **ind-gredior*, a form confused with *in-gredior* (cf. O. Lat. *induperator* and class. *imperator*).

In the later stages of a language the use of Prepositions increases more and more. In Latin this culminated in the loss of Case-suffixes, and the use of Prepositions in their place, as we see in the Romance languages (cf. Fr. 'je vais à Rome' with Lat. 'vado Romam'). As early as the first cent. A.D., a grammarian points out that *in manus aqua* is the phrase in vogue instead of the older *aqua manibus*. New distinctions of prepositional meaning were expressed by compounding Prepositions with one another, e. g. *de-ex*, *de-sub*, *ab-ante* (Fr. avant), just as I.-Eur. Prepositions often had a Particle appended to define their meaning. Such Particles were (1) -s(ĕ), Gk. -σε (e. g. Gk. ἄψ, ἐξ, Lat. *abs*, *ex*, *sus-*); (2) -d(ĕ), Gk. δόμον-δε (e. g. Lat. *prōd-eo*, O. Lat. *postid*, *antid*); (3) -n(ĕ) (e. g. Germ. vo-n, Lat. *pōne* for **pos-ne*). They are related to the Pronominal stems mentioned in ch. v. § 3.

In the earlier stage of every language the Prepositions must have been used with great elasticity, sometimes with one case, sometimes with another, the restriction of Prepositions to a particular case being a late feature. Thus *in potestatem esse* instead of *in potestate esse* is

a usage of archaic Latin. Their position too varied in course of time. In I.-Eur. the Preposition seems to have preceded the Verb, but to have followed the Noun, while between the Prep. and the Verb a Particle or Enclitic Pronoun might be inserted (cf. O. Lat. *anti-d-eo*, *sub vos placo*, the archaic phrase for *supplico vos* retained in Latin prayers, *ob vos sacro* for *obsecro vos*). In classical Latin a Preposition, especially a monosyllabic Preposition, precedes the Noun (hence 'Pre-position'), except in particular circumstances (e.g. *metu in magno*), but in the older literature often follows it, just as our 'in here' was earlier 'here-in'.

§ 2. **List of Latin Prepositions.**

(1) **Ab**, from, is I.-Eur. ăp (Engl. of, off), a curtailed form of ăpŏ (Gk. ἄπο), of which another curtailment was pŏ (Lat. *pŏ-situs*, *pōno* for *pŏ-s(ĭ)no*, O. Lat. *pŏ-lŭbrum*, a wash-basin, *pŏ-lire*). The form *ap-* appears in *ap-erio*,[1] and was no doubt the pronunciation of the word before an initial *p*, *t*, *c*, &c., e.g. *ab templo*; *ab* is due to the same Latin preference of final *-b* to *-p* as substituted *ob* for *op* (see below). The form *abs* (pronounced and often written *aps*, ch. ii. § 10), in which the Preposition is augmented by the Particle -s(ĕ) (Gk. ἄψ), is used in Composition before *t*, *c*, e.g. *abs-traho*, *abs-condo*, while before *p* it is, by a law of Latin phonetics (ch. x. § 20), reduced to *s*, e.g. *as-porto* for **aps-porto*, *as-pello* for **aps-pello*. It appears also in the O. Lat. phrase *absque me* (*te*, &c.) *esset* (*foret*), e.g. Plaut. Trin. 1125 exaedificavisset me ex his aedibus, absque te foret, 'he would have evicted me

[1] The opposite was *op-erio*, e. g. Plaut. Capt. 524 operta quae fuere, aperta sunt, 'what was shut is now open'.

from this house, had it not been for you.' The phrase seems to have been originally parenthetical 'and without (lit. 'away from') you, it would be (a fact)'. At a later period *absque me*, &c., was used without the verb, and *absque* came to take the sense of *sine*, 'without'. *Ā* may be another form of *ab* as *ē* of *ex*, e.g. *ā-mitto* for *ammitto*, *ab-mitto*, as *ē-mitto* for **emmitto*, *ex-mitto* (ch. x. § 20). *Au-* of *au-fŭgio*, *au-fero*, however, represents an entirely different I.-Eur. Preposition ăwĕ, which was brought into requisition in these Compounds before an initial *f* to avoid confusion with the Compounds of *ad*, e.g. *affero*. A curious Preposition *af*, used in Cicero's time occasionally in account-books, with the name of the person from whom money had been received, some declare to be a mere (Greek?) trick of writing, with the symbol F (the Greek Digamma) employed to denote the *u-* or *w*-sound.

§ 3. (2) **Ad**, at, to, I.-Eur. ăd (Engl. at), is a different word from the Conjunction *at*, I.-Eur. ăt, though often confused with it in Roman spelling. On the old form *ar*, e.g. *arfuerunt*, *arvorsum*, due to the phonetic change of *d* to an *r*-sound before *f*, *v*, see ch. ii. § 8.

§ 4. (3) **Ambĭ-**, around, on each side, I.-Eur. ambhĭ (Gk. *ἀμφί*), a Locative of the same stem as I.-Eur. ambhō, 'both' (Gk. *ἄμφω*, Lat. *ambō*), appears in Latin compounds in the form *am-* before a consonant, e.g. *amplector*, *ăm-icio* for *am-jicio* (see ch. ii. § 12). This must be distinguished from *ăn-*, a curtailment of I.-Eur. ănă, 'on' (Gk. *ἀνά*, Engl. on) in *an-helus*, *an-quiro*.

§ 5. (4) **Antĕ**, before, I.-Eur. antĭ (Gk. *ἀντί*, opposite, instead of; Engl. an-swer), a Locative Sing. of some

stem connected with Lat. *antes*, rows (Engl. end) of which Gk. *ἄντα*, opposite (cf. *ἄντην*), is another case. In *anti-stes*, the *ĭ* of I.-Eur. antĭ, not being final, does not sink to *ĕ* (ch. ii. § 14 *n.*).

§ 6. (5) **Ăpŭd**, which is also spelt *aput*, seems to be the I.-Eur. Preposition ăpŏ (of which Lat. *ab* is a curtailment), augmented by the Particle d(ĕ) or t(ĭ), and must have been originally **apod* or **apot* (cf. Dor. *ποτί*).

§ 7. (6) **Circum**, around, the Adverbial Acc. Sg. of *circus* (Gk. *κρίκος*, a ring), is the older form. In class. Lat. a by-form *circā* appears, first found as a Preposition in the time of the Gracchi, a formation on the type of *suprā*, *extrā*, &c. (ch. vii. § 4), which was originally employed with verbs like *esse* owing to a feeling that *circum* was suitable only for verbs of motion, e.g. *legatos circum civitates mittere*, 'to send ambassadors a tour of the states', *ire circum urbem*, 'to go a circuit of the city'. *Circĭter*, an adverbial formation like *breviter* (ch. vii. § 2), came to be restricted to the logical sense of 'about', 'almost', e.g. Plaut. loca haec circiter, 'hereabout'. The form *circō* appears in the Adverb *id-circo*, as *circa* in *quo-circa*, with another logical sense.

§ 8. (7) **Cĭs, cĭtrā**, on this side, are formed from the I.-Eur. pronominal root kĭ-, 'this' (Gk. *-κι* of *οὐκί*, *πολλάκι*, Engl. he), exactly as their opposites *uls*, *ultra*, on that side, from the I.-Eur. pronominal root ŏl-, 'that' (ch. v. § 3), the first by the addition of the particle s(ĕ), the second (an Abl. Sg. Fem.) with the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8). The Adv. *citrō* (Abl. Sg. Neut.) corresponds to *citra* as *ultrō* (e.g. ultro citroque) to *ultra*.

§ 9. (8) **Clam**, an Adverbial Acc. Sg. Fem. from the root kĕl-, 'to hide' (Lat. *cēlo, occŭlo*, &c., ch. vi. § 2), had in O. Lat. a by-form **clam-dĕ*, whence was formed the Adj. *clandestīnus*. It governs the Acc. (not the Abl.), and has in the Comedians another, apparently a Diminutive form, *clanculum*, e.g. Ter. clanculum patres.

§ 10. (9) **Cum**, older *com* (a form still retained in Composition, e.g. *com-es*, a companion), is I.-Eur. kŏm. (On the change of *ŏ* to *ŭ* in Latin, see ch. ii. § 4, and on the loss of *-m* in *co-eo*, &c., ch. ii. § 3.)

§ 11. (10) **Contra**, formed from *com, cum* with the suffix -t(e)ro- (ch. xi. § 8), is in the earlier literature *contrā*, e.g. Enn.:

quis pater aut cognatu' uolet nos contrā tueri?
'What father or kinsman will care to look us in the face?'

an Acc. Pl. Neut. (ch. ii. § 5), but in class. Lat. *contrā* like *citrā* (Abl. Sg. Fem.; see above). The Abl. Sg. Neut. *contrō-* appears in *contrō-versia*.

§ 12. (11) **Cōram**, in presence of, is an Adverbial Acc. Sg. Fem. of an Adj. **cōrus*, compounded of *cum* and *ōs*, Gen. *ōris*, the face.

§ 13. (12) **Dē**, down from, concerning, cannot be an Abl. Sg. form like Adverbs in *-ē* (ch. vii. § 4), for it is written *de*, not **ded*, on the S. C. Bacch.

§ 14. (13) **Dĭs-**, apart, comes from an unaccented by-form of the root dwŏ-, dwĭ-, 'two', wanting the w (cf. ch. v. § 1 fin. on swĕ and sĕ). With the w the same formation expressed the Numeral Adverb, dwĭs (Lat. *bĭs*, ch. iv. § 5). Before a vowel *dĭs-* becomes, by the phonetic law of Latin, *dir-* (ch. x. § 19), e.g. *dīr-ĭmo*,

and before voiced consonants *di-* (ch. x. § 19), e.g. *di-moveo.*

§ 15. (14) **Ergā, ergō.** *Erga,* originally local (e.g. Plaut. quae erga aedem sese habet, 'the woman who lives opposite the temple'), may possibly represent an *e *rega,* like *e regione,* opposite, and *ergo* an *e *rĕgo,* lit. 'from the direction', then 'on account of' (cf. Germ. wegen, originally 'von Wegen'). *Erga* is not restricted in the earlier literature to the expression of friendly feeling, e.g. Plaut.:

ne málus item erga mé sit, ut erga illúm fuit.

§ 16. (15) **Ex,** out of, I.-Eur. ĕks (Gk. ἐξ), adds to a Preposition ĕk the Particle sĕ. In Latin compounds it often appears before the letter *f* in the form *ec-* (cf. Gk. ἐκ) in MSS., e.g. *ecfatus.* Before voiced consonants it was *ē,* e.g. *ē-mitto, ē-lego* (like *tēla* for **tex-la,* ch. x. § 20).

§ 17. (16) **Extrā** is formed from *ex* as *contrā* from *cum, com.*

§ 18. (17) **In,** older *en,* is I.-Eur. ĕn (Gk. ἐν, Engl. in). The same form is used in Latin and other languages with the two senses (1) in, (2) into, but in Greek the second is distinguished by the addition of the particle sĕ, ἐνς, Att. εἰς. The O. Lat. Preposition *endŏ, indŭ* (I.-Eur. ĕndŏ; cf. Gk. ἔνδον), when reduced by Syncope to *ind-* (ch. ii. § 12), e.g. *ind(u)-gredior, ind(u)-perator,* was confused with *in,* e.g. *in-gredior, im-perator,* and so dropt out of use. Thus Terence uses *in-audio* only, though Plautus still retains *ind-audio.*

§ 19. (18) **Infrā** is an Abl. Sg. Fem. like *extra,* connected with the Adj. *inferus.*

§ **20.** (19) **Inter,** between, is formed from *in* by the addition of the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8).

§ **21.** (20) **Intrā** is an Abl. Sg. Fem. of the same formation as *inter*, while *intrō* is an Abl. Sg. Neut. (cf. *ultrā* and *ultrō*), and *intŭs* has the Adverbial ending -tŏs (ch. vii. § 1). *Intus* wavers between an Adverb and a Preposition in such a phrase as Virgil's *tali intus templo*, 'in such temple within', or 'within such temple'.

§ **22.** (21) **Juxtā,** first used as a Preposition by Caesar, is Abl. Sg. Fem. of a stem *juxto-*, connected with *jungo* and meaning 'adjoining'. The Acc. Pl. Neut. by-form (like *contrā* beside *contrā*; see above) appears in Catull. lxvi. 66 *juxtă*.

§ **23.** (22) **Ob,** I.-Eur. ŏp(ĭ) (Gk. ὄπι-σθεν), apparently a variety (ch. x. § 12 of ĕpĭ (Gk. ἐπί), often retains its *-p* in Latin spelling in Compounds like *op-tineo*, *op-erio* (see ch. ii. § 10). In classical Latin it has the sense of 'before' (e.g. *ob oculos ponere*, to describe) or 'on account of', but in the earlier literature also of 'to', 'near', &c.

§ **24.** (23) **Pălam,** like its opposite, *clam*, an Acc. Sg. Fem. of some stem connected with *pālari*, to wander, be dispersed abroad. It is not found as a Preposition till the Augustan Age.

§ **25.** (24) **Pĕnĕs** (governing the Acc., usually of a person) is a suffixless Locative (ch. iii. § 8) of *penus -ŏris*, from the root pĕn- of *penitus*, *penĕ-trare*.

§ **26.** (25) **Per,** through, connected with I.-Eur. pĕrō, 'I transport, bring or pass through' (cf. Gk. πείρω, Lat. *ex-perior*), corresponds to Gk. περί in its intensive

sense (e.g. *per-longus*, Gk. περι-μήκης); to Gk. παρά in its sense of wrong or injury (e.g. *per-jurus*, *per-do*, *per-fŭdus*; Gk. παρ-όμνυμι, παρα-βαίνω), these two Gk. Prepositions being really different cases of the same root pĕr-, as are also Lat. *pr-ō*, *pr-ae*.

§ 27. (26) **Post**, O. Lat. *postĕ*, for **pos-tĭ*, often became in Compounds through loss of *t* (ch. x. § 20) *pos*; e.g. *posquam* was according to some Grammarians the proper spelling in Virg. *Aen.* iii. 1; *pō-merium* said to stand for *pos(t)-moerium*. With addition of the suffix *-nĕ* (§ 1) it becomes *pōne*, which has a local sense in early literature, 'behind', not 'after' (in time).

§ 28. (27) **Prae**, before, is a Dative formation from the root per- (see above). *Prae-sens* has the old sense of 'being in command' (cf. *prae-fectus*, *prae-positus*) in the inscription on the Columna Rostrata, *praesented dictatored olorum* 'praesente dictatore illorum'.

§ 29. (28) **Praeter**, past, except, is formed from the preceding by means of the suffix -tĕrŏ- like the Adverbs *breviter*, &c. (ch. vii. § 2).

§ 30. (29) **Pro** is I.-Eur. prŏ (Gk. πρό, πρω-ί, early). It retains in class. Lat. the short vowel before *f*, e.g. *prŏ-ficiscor*, *prŏ-fundo* (but *prō-ficio*); but in the early literature *prŏ-* is much more frequent than it is in the classical period; the Adj. *prŏ-bus* (cf. *super-bus*, Gk. ὑπερ-φυής) preserves this form. In *prodest*, *prodire*, *prō* is augmented by the particle -dĕ (§ 1).

§ 31. (30) **Procul** is formed from *prŏ* by the KO-suffix (ch. xi. § 11) and some L-suffix.

§ 32. (31) **Prope**, with Superl. *proxime*, seems also

to be formed from *prŏ*; how exactly, is a matter of doubt.

§ 33. (32) **Propter,** near, on account of, is formed from *prope* by means of the suffix -tĕrŏ-, as *praeter* from *prae, circiter* from *circum.*

§ 34. (33) **Rĕ-,** back, has a by-form *rĕd-*, with the addition of the particle -dĕ (§ 1), which in class. Lat. remains in *red-eo,* &c., but is before a consonant discarded for *rĕ-* in *rĕduco* (O. Lat. *red-duco*), &c. From *rĕ-* was formed the Adverb *retrō,* like *in-trō, ci-trō, ul-trō.*

§ 35. (34) **Secundum,** according to, close behind, is the Adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of *secundus,* following (ch. vi. § 18). In plebeian Latin *secus* (Nom. Sg. Masc. of an Adj.-stem *seco-*, 'following') was used for *secundum.* The Adverb *secus* of phrases like *secus accidit, non secus atque* (Comp. *sequius*) has been referred to this Preposition on the theory that it originally meant 'following but coming short of', 'less'.

§ 36. (35) **Sĭnĕ** for **sĕnĕ,* from s(w)ĕ-, the Reflexive Pronoun-stem (ch. v. § 1) and the particle -nĕ (§ 1). In Early Latin there was another Preposition with the sense of 'without', *sēd,* later *sē* (ch. ii. § 9), an Abl. form of the same Pronoun; e.g. *se dolo,* without guile (whence the Adv. *sedulo,* ch. vii. § 6), *se fraude esto* 'let it be without hurt', 'it shall be free from penalty', are phrases of common occurrence in Laws of the Republic.

§ 37. (36) **Sub** is I.-Eur. ŭpŏ (Gk. *ὑπό* for *ὑπό*) with a prefixed particle *s. Sub-ter* and *sub-tus* are formed from *sub* as *in-ter* and *in-tus* from *in.*

§ 38. (37) **Super** is I.-Eur. ŭpĕr (Gk. *ὑπέρ* for *ὑπέρ*)

with a prefixed particle *s*. *Super-nĕ* adds the particle -nĕ (§ 1). *Suprā* is an Abl. Sg. Fem. (ch. vii. § 4).

§ 39. (38) **Tĕnŭs** is Adverbial Acc. Sg. of a Neuter S-stem *tenus*, derived from the root *ten-*, to stretch, and meaning in old Latin 'a cord', e.g. Plaut.

pendébit hodie púlcre; ita intendí tenus.

Prō-tenus, protinus, a Compound of this Preposition, had the sense of (1) 'forward', 'onward' (of space or time), e.g. en ipse capellas Protenus aeger ago, Virg.; sic vives protenus, Hor.; (2) without interval of space, e.g. Virg. *A.* iii. 416:

cum protinus utraque tellus Una foret,

of the traditional connexion of the Italian and Sicilian shores; (3) without interval of time, forthwith (its usual sense).

§ 40. (39) **Trans** has been connected with a supposed Verb **trare*, said to be found in *in-trare, pene-trare* (ch. vi. § 2). On the change of *trans-mitto* to *tras-mitto, trā-mitto*, see ch. ii. § 3; ch. x. § 20.

§ 41. (40) **Ultra** is derived from *ŭls* as *cĭtra* from *cĭs*. This *uls* shows the root *ol-* of the Pronoun *ille*, O. Lat. *olle* (ch. v. § 5) with the particle -sĕ (§ 1).

§ 42. (41) **Usque** is formed from the I.-Eur. Prep. ud (Engl. out) in the same way as *absque* from *ab*. Its Prepositional use, e.g. usque radices, is due to a curtailment of the proper phrase *ūsque ad*, much as in Attic Greek ὡς (for ὡς εἰς) came to be used as a Preposition, e.g. ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ἰέναι.

(42) **Versus** (see ch. vii. § 1).

CHAPTER IX

CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

§ 1. **Origin of the Conjunctions.** As Prepositions are hardly separable from Adverbs of Locality, so Conjunctions are closely connected with Pronominal Adverbs. These Pronominal Adverbs, as we have seen (ch. vii. § 5), are not always capable of being referred to their proper case form (e.g. *ibĭ*, *ubĭ*), owing to our imperfect knowledge of the declension of the I.-Eur. Pronoun. Nor is it easy to find their cognates in the various I.-Eur. languages; so rapidly does the meaning of a Conjunction alter. Thus Latin *enim*, which in the older literature is a particle of asseveration, 'indeed', had by the classical period appropriated the sense of 'for'; and in French pas (Lat. *passus*) and point (Lat. *punctum*) have acquired a negative sense from their use in the phrase 'ne . . . pas', 'ne . . . point'. A feature of I.-Eur. Conjunctions is their tendency to append other Conjunctions or conjunctive Particles (e. g. ὡς in Greek may append δή, περ, &c., ὡς δή, ὥσπερ); and this habit puts another obstacle in the way of identifying cognate Conjunctions in different languages, for in one language they may appear extended by one particle, in another language by another. The exact form of these conjunctive Particles is also a difficult thing to ascertain; we

often see parallel stems in -o, -i, -u, &c. (e. g. q^uo-, q^ue-, q^ui-, q^ua-, are all various forms of the Relative and Interrogative Pronoun-stem, ch. v. § 6; -tĕ and -tĭ appear in Gk. *αὖ-τε, ἔ-τι*), and parallel forms with long and with short vowel (e. g. Lat. *nĕ-* and *nē-*, the Negative Particle); and the tendency was always present to adapt the ending of one Conjunction to the ending of another Conjunction of similar meaning (e. g. Lat. *saltem* for *saltim*, adapted to *an-tem*, *i-tem*). It is therefore best to designate these conjunctive Particles according to their consonants, and in tracing the origin of the Latin Conjunctions to mention such Pronouns (or pronominal Particles) as (1) the T-pronoun of Lat. *tam*, *i-tem*, *u-t(ĭ)*, Gk. *αὖ-τε, ἔ-τι*, (2) the D-pronoun of Lat. *dum*, *ibĭ-dem*, Gk. *δή, δέ, ὅ-δε*, (3) the DH-pronoun of Gk. *ἔν-θα*, (5) the P-pronoun of Lat. *quip-pe*, *nem-pe*, (5) the N-pronoun of Lat. *num*, *nam*, *nem-pe*, *quis-nam*.

§ 2. (1) **Conjunctive.—Que, et, atque, ac, quoque, etiam.**—*Quĕ*, I.-Eur. $q^uĕ$ (Gk. *τε*), apparently the bare stem of the Relative q^uo-, q^ue- (ch. v. § 6), is in Latin, as it was in I.-Eur., an enclitic appended to the first word of the sentence. Through Syncope, to which final -*ĕ* was always liable in Latin (ch. ii. § 12), it became -*c* in *ac* for **atc* (*at-que*), &c., and probably often had this sound before an initial consonant in the rapid utterance of every-day life. I.-Eur. -$q^uĕ$ gave a relative and indefinite sense to Pronouns (e. g. Hom. *ὅς τε*), and so in Early Latin, though in the classical period the fuller ending *-cunque* was preferred; e. g. *quem-que* Plaut. for *quem-cunque* in *Mil.* 156: quemque in tegulis

Videritis alienum; so *quis-que,* each (ch. v. § 7). This *-cunque, -cumque* (O. Lat. *-quomque*) seems[1] to be nothing but *cum-que,* 'whenever' (Hor. *C.* i. 32. 15 mihi cumque salve Rite vocanti), like *quando-que.* In O. Lat. *atque* often signifies 'forthwith', e. g. Plaut. *Most.* 1050:

quóniam conuocáui, atque illi me éx senatu ségregant,

and Virgil seems to use the word in this archaic sense in *Georg.* i. 201:

Non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,
atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

Quoque has some part of the Pronoun-stem q^{u}o-, q^{u}e-, as its first element. *Et* is the I.-Eur. Adverb ĕtĭ (Gk. ἔτι, further), used in Latin, as in Gothic (iþ, 'and'), for the copula. In *etiam, et* is associated with the Adverb *jam,* now, the *j* (our *y*) becoming the vowel *i* by the Latin phonetic law in the middle of a word, as in *medius* from I.-Eur. mĕdhyŏs (Gk. μέσ(σ)ος) (ch. x. § 13).

§ 3. (2) **Disjunctive.—Ve, aut, vel, sive, seu.** —*Vĕ* is I.-Eur. wĕ (Hom. Gk. ἠ-(ϝ)έ), a particle which had also the sense of 'as', 'like' (e. g. Lat. *ce-u,* § 10). *Aut* is compounded of I.-Eur. au (Gk. αὖ, again, Engl. eke from Goth. au-k [quasi αὖ-γε]), and the T-pronoun (§ 1). *Vĕl* is the old 2 Sg. Pres. Imperative of *volo,* I wish (ch. vi. § 14), and means literally 'choose', as

[1] Another explanation makes, e. g. *quicumque* merely 'who and when', *ubicumque* 'where and when', similarly *ubi quisque* 'where and who', and declares *quisque* 'each', to be merely a reduction of the last phrase.

Germ. wohl (e. g. Homer, wohl der grösste Dichter, 'Homerus vel summus poeta') is said to have been originally Imper. of wollen. *Sivĕ* is compounded of *si*, older *sei* (§ 13), and *-ve*. Before *-u*, the curtailed or syncopated form of *-ve* (as *-c* of *-que*, *-n* of Interrogative *-ne*), the *ei*-diphthong was by the Latin phonetic law reduced to *ĕ*, as in *deus* from *dei(u)us* (ch. x. § 13), and the Conjunction took (before nouns beginning with a consonant) the form *seu*.

§ 4. (3) **Adversative.—At, ast, sed, autem, atqui, tamen, ceterum, verum, vero.**—*Ăt* is the I.-Eur. Adverb ătī, 'back', 'from', used in Latin, as in Gothic (aþ-)þan, 'but'), as a Conjunction. *Ast*, found in old laws with the sense 'if further', e. g.:

si parentem puer uerberet, ast olle plorassit, puer diuis parentum sacer esto,

had originally the sense of 'further' merely, being perhaps **ad-stĭ*, a derivative from the Preposition *ad* like *post(ĭ)* from the Preposition *po* (ch. viii. §§ 2, 27). It came to be used exclusively in conditional sentences and so acquired the notion of 'if further' and even of 'if', e. g. in the curious law of the XII Tables which refers to the use of gold in dentistry:

Neue aurum addito, at cui auro dentes iuncti escunt, ast im cum illo sepeliet uretue, se fraude esto.

'No gold shall men put in a tomb; but, when the deceased has his teeth fastened with gold, if they bury or burn him with that gold, it shall not be a punishable offence.'

The Augustan poets revived the use of the word, but made it a mere substitute for *at*, where the metre

required a long syllable; and in the second cent. A. D. it passed into prose. *Sed*, in early Latin *sedum*, may be a compound of s(w)ĕ, the Reflexive Pronoun stem (ch. v. § 1) with the particle *dum*. With its loss of *-um* compare *nox* for *noenum* (§ 17). *Autem* adds the particle *-tem* (cf. *ĭ-tem*) to the I.-Eur. Adverb au (Gk. *αὖ*, Engl. eke from au-k, p. 157), which is probably identical with the Preposition *au-* of *au-fero, au-fugio* (ch. viii. § 2). *Atqui* adds to the Conjunction *at* the particle *qui*, so often used by the early Dramatists as a mere particle of emphasis (e. g. Hercle qui, utinam qui, ut qui, Plaut.), apparently either the Abl., Loc., or Instr. Sg. of the Relative. *Tamen*, however, 'none the less', is clearly related to *tam*, so, 'equally much', which was in the early literature used in the sense of *tamen* (cf. class. *tam-etsi* and *tamen-etsi*). *Ceterum* is the adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of the stem *cetero-* (Nom. Pl. *ceteri*), from *cē-* the lengthened form of the Pron. stem *cĕ-* (ch. v. § 4), as *cetera* in such a line as Virg. *A.* ix. 606: cetera parce puer bello, 'for the rest—you are a boy—deal sparingly in war', is an adverbial Acc. Pl. Neut. *Verum* is similarly an adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of *verus*, true, and *verō* an adverbial Abl. (Instr.?) Sg. Neut. of the same.

§ 5. (4) **Limitative and Corrective.—Quidem, immo.**—*Quidem* shows the stem of the Indefinite Pronoun *quis* (ch. v. § 6) with the particle *dem* (ch. v. § 3). *Immō* has been explained as **in-mō*, 'in magis', from **mō* a supposed old Comparative, 'more'.

§ 6. (5) **Explanatory.—Enim, nam, namque, quippe, nempe.**—*Enim* is in O. Lat. an asseverative

particle merely (cf. class. *enim-vero*), a usage imitated by Virgil, e. g. *A.* viii. 84:

> Quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Juno,
> mactat sacra ferens.

It comes from an I.-Eur. Pronoun stem ĕnŏ-, 'this', 'that'. *Nam*, Acc. Sg. Fem. of nŏ-, another form of this stem, is often used in O. Lat. in questions, e. g. quid cerussa opus nam? 'why, what is the use of paint?' Plaut. (cf. *quisnam*, and in O. Lat. poetry *quianam*, 'why?'; cf. Virg. *A.* v. 13, x. 6), without that definite sense of 'for', 'because' to which the word is restricted in the classical literature (but cf. *uti-nam*). *Quippe* for *quī-pe* (like *Juppiter* for *Jū-piter*), adds the particle *pĕ* (§ 1) to the Loc. Instr. Sg. of the Pronoun. *Nempe* adds the same particle to a form **nem*, which is the same case-form of the N-Pronoun as *-tem* is of the T-Pronoun (ch. v. § 3).

§ 7. (6) **Conclusive.—Ergo, itaque, igitur.**—*Igitur* had in O. Lat. the sense of *tum* as in the first law of the XII Tab.: si in ius uocat, ni it, antestamino, igitur em capito (ch. v. § 5). On *ergo*, see ch. viii. § 15.

§ 8. (7) **Optative.—Ut, utinam.**—*Ut*, in wishes, e. g.:

> Juppiter, ut Chalybum omne genus pereat,

is the Conjunction *ut*, that (older *utĭ*, ch. ii. § 12), with suppression of the idea 'I wish' or 'do thou grant'. In *utinam* the final *ĭ* of *ut*(*ĭ*) is retained (so in *ne-uti-quam*, pronounced as a trisyllable with the first two syllables short), and *nam* has its older sense of a strengthening particle 'indeed' (§ 6).

§ 9. (8) **Interrogative.—-Ne, nonne, num, utrum, an, anne, cur, quare.**—In class. Latin *-nĕ* is the general interrogative particle, while *nonnĕ* is limited to questions which expect an affirmative, *num* to those which expect a negative answer. This distinction is unknown to Plautus, who uses *nonne* hardly at all (*-ne* being used instead), and *num, numquis* without a negative sense occasionally. It is easy to see how these meanings came to be attached to *nonne*, 'is . . . not', and *num*, 'now', e.g. *nonne haec ita sunt?*, 'is not this the case?'; *num haec ita sunt?*, 'now is this the case?' (with emphasis on the word 'is').

-Nĕ is I.-Eur. nĕ. *Num* is the I.-Eur. num, 'now' (Gk. *νυν*; cf. *nunc* for *num-c(e)*, ch. v. § 4). *Utrum* is the Adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of *uter* (ch. vi. § 8), like Gk. *πότερον*. *An* is perhaps[1] the same as Gk. *ἄν* 'in that case'. *Cūr* (O. Lat. *quōr*) is I.-Eur. q^{u}ōr, related to Engl. 'where', and is quite unconnected with *quā-re* (cf. *cui rei*, Plaut., *quam-ob-rem, eā re* 'on that account').

§ 10. (9) **Comparative.—Ut, uti, quasi, ceu, quam.**—On *ut*, see § 8. *Quăsĭ*, 'as if', either comes from *qua* Neut. Pl. 'as' and *si*, or is a mere shortening of *quam si* (like *sĭquidem*, &c.; p. 41). *Ceu*, which is restricted to the Epic and Lyric Poets and a few Silver Age prose writers, is compounded of the Pronoun stem kŏ-, kĕ- (ch. v. § 4) and the particle -wĕ, 'as, like' (§ 3), and stands for **cĕ-ve* (cf. *cĕ-teri*). *Quam* is Acc. Sg. Fem. of the

[1] The theory that *an* is (like *proin* for *proinde*, *dein* for *deinde*) a shortened form of *anne* (this full form being composed of *at* with the Interrogative Particle *ne*), leaves the Plautine (and subsequent) scansion *ăn* unexplained (cf. ch. ii. § 9).

Relative, as *tam* of the Demonstrative. The two words are combined in *tamquam*, lit. 'so as'; cf. Plaut. Epid. 504 A. Novistin . . . Acropolistidem? B. Tam facile quam me.

§ 11. (10) **Temporal.—Cum, quando, dum, donec, ut, ubi.**—*Cum*, or *quom*, is an Adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of the Relative. *Quandō* is Acc. Sg. Fem. of the Relative with the I.-Eur. Preposition dŏ, 'to', so that *quam-do* will mean 'to what' (time). In Plautus *quando* is mainly temporal, though by Terence's time it is mainly causal, as *quandŏquidem*[1] is at all periods of the literature. *Dum*, which is often a mere asseverative particle, e.g. *age dum* (Gk. ἄγε δή), *quīdum*, how so?, *primumdum*, first of all, is an Acc. Sg. of the Pronoun stem do- as *tum* of to-, *cum* of q^{u}o-. Gk. δή is another case-form of the same stem. The temporal[2] sense is clearly seen in *non-dum*, *etiam-dum*, *inter-dum*. *Donec* is in O. Lat. *donicum*, which is compounded of **dō-ne* (the Prep. dŏ, to, and the N-pronoun, § 1) and *cum*, when, and meant 'to when', 'till when' (cf. *quo-ad*). *Donicum* was perhaps wrongly apprehended as *donec-cum* instead of *donecum* and so with omission of *cum* became *donec*. *Donique* of Lucretius (ii. 1116, &c.) either adds to **dōne* the particle *-que*, 'ever' (cf. *quando*, when, *quandoque*, whenever; also *dē-ni-que*), or is a false coinage of the archaistic poet, who misunderstood *donec* as *do-nec*. *Ut* from *u-tĭ* (cf. *uti-nam*) adds to the Relative stem q^{u}u- (ch. v. § 6) the Particle or case-suffix -tĭ (§ 1). On *ubi* see ch. vii. § 5.

[1] The shortening may be like that of *sĭ-quidem* (p. 41).

[2] In Plaut. *dum* often means 'the while', e.g. Rud. 779: abi modo, ego dum hoc curabo recte.

§ 12. (11) **Causal.—Cum, quoniam, quod, quia, quippe.**—On *cum* see § 11. *Quoniam* is a compound of *cum* (*quom*) and *jam*, the *j* (*y*) becoming by the law of Latin phonetics vocalic in the middle of a word (ch. x. § 13). Its oldest sense is temporal, 'when now' (with Pres. Ind., the Pres. tense being required by the *jam*), e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* 112:

> Quoniam hinc iturust ipsus in Seleúciam,
> mihi cónmendauit uírginem;

and it is possible to trace its gradual development from a temporal to a causal sense in the course of Latin Literature. *Quod* is Acc. Sg. Neut. of the Relative O-stem (ch. v. § 6), used like Homeric *ὅ* in such a line as *Od.* i. 382:

> Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον ὅ θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε.

Quĭă is an Acc. Pl. Neut. of the Relative I-stem (ch. v. § 6). On *quippe* see § 6.

§ 13. (12) **Conditional.—Si, nisi, ni, sin, sive, seu, modo, dummodo.**—*Si*, O. Lat. *sei*, is a Loc. Sg. of the Pronoun stem so-, seen in Lat. *ip-se*, *ip-sa* (ch. v. § 3). *Sic*, so, is the same word with the enclitic *-c(e)* appended (ch. v. § 4). *Nĭsĭ* is a compound of the Negative *nĕ* (§ 17) with *si*, and means literally 'not if'. *Ni*, I.-Eur. nei, perhaps the Negative *nĕ* with the deictic particle *-i* of Gk. *οὑτοσ-ῑ*, &c., had originally the sense of *non* or *nē*, as in *quid-ni*, *quippi-ni*, and still retains this sense in Virgil's line: ni teneant cursus (*A.* iii. 686). It came however to acquire the sense of *nisi* from its use in such phrases as si in ius uocat, ni it, XII Tab., 'if he summons him (and) he does not go'; id ni fit, pignus dato, Plaut.,

'lay me a wager in the event of that not happening', lit. 'that does not happen, lay me a wager.' *Sin* is a compound of *si* and *nĕ*, not the Negative *nĕ*, for the negative sense of *sin*, 'if not', is hardly attached to the word in the time of Plautus, but the Demonstr. suffix seen in *alioquin* beside *alioqui*, &c. (§ 15). On *sīve* and *seu* see ch. ii. § 12. *Mŏdŏ* is the adverbial Abl. (Instr. ?) Sg. of *modus*, measure, limit (cf. Hor. quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus?), 'only', *dum-modo*, 'while only'. A common sense of *modo* is the temporal sense, 'only a little while ago'.[1]

§ 14. (13) **Concessive.—Etsi, quamquam, quamvis, licet.**—The formation of all these words is evident: *et-si*, 'even if', *quam-quam* (reduplicated), *quam-vis*,[2] 'how you wish' (like *quantum-vis*, 'however much you wish', or *quam-libet*, 'how you please'), *licet*, 'it is allowed', 'granted'.

§ 15. (14) **Final.—Ut, quo, quominus, quin, ne, neve, neu, nedum.**—On *ut* see § 11. *Quō* is the Abl. (Instr. ?) Sg. Neut. of the Relative, used with Comparatives, *quo facilius* like *eo facilius*. *Quominus* adds to *quo* the Comparative *minus*, 'less', used in a negative sense (cf. *minime*, 'by no means', *parum sciens*, 'ignorant'). *Quīn* as a Final Conjunction, is composed of *quī*, how

[1] This was emphasized in the Praenestine dialect by the addition of *tam* (tam modo, inquit Praenestinus, 'e'en now, as Praenestine folk say', Plaut. *Trin.* 609).

[2] In Plautus' Latin *quamvis* has not acquired the sense of 'although', but is the equivalent of *quantumvis*. The Subj. of *volo* appears in Pseud. 1175 quam velis pernix homo est,' the man is ever so nimble.'

(Abl.?, Loc.?, Instr.?) and the Negative Particle *nĕ*. In some instances it represents *qui* (Nom. Sg. Masc.) with Negative *nĕ*, e.g. nemo fuit quin sciret (qui nesciret); and the same form was extended to sentences like nulla mulier fuit quin sciret, just as *potis* Masc. Sg. is universalized in the phrase *potis est* and used with Neuter or Plural Subjects (ch. vi. § 23). *Quin* in affirmations, e.g. hercle quin recte dicis, Plaut., is merely the Adverb *qui* of *hercle qui*, &c. (§ 4) with the Demonstrative suffix *-nĕ* (so *atquin* and *atqui*, *alioquin* and *alioqui*, *ceteroquin* and *ceteroqui*). *Quin* in commands, originally with Ind. (and so usually in Plautus), e.g. quin dicis?, then by 'constructio ad sensum' with Imper. (so usually in Terence), e.g. quin dic, is the Adverb *qui* with the Interrogative Particle *-ne*, 'how not?', 'why not?'. *Quin* in a sentence like Plaut. *Trin.* 360:

quín comedit quód fuit, quod nón fuit?

i.e. 'eumne dicis qui comedit?' &c., is *qui* Nom. Sg. with the same particle (cf. *Mil.* 13 quemne ego seruaui? 'you mean the man whose life I saved?'). *Nĕ* is I.-Eur. nē, a variety of I.-Eur. nĕ (§ 1). *Nĕve* adds to this the enclitic *-vĕ*, 'or', which in *neu* is reduced by Syncope (ch. ii. § 12). For *nēdum* (especially used by Livy, also by Cicero, but rarely by the other authors) *ne* alone is occasionally found. An early instance of the word, which is not employed by Plautus, is Ter. *Haut.* 454:

satrapa sí siet
amátor, numquam súfferre eius sumptús queat;
nedúm tu possis,

lit. 'ne(dum) tu te posse credas, dico satrapam non

posse', or 'satrapa non potest, nondum tu potes', with which we may compare Plaut. *Amph.* 330:

> uix incedo inánis, ne ire pósse cum onere exístumes.

Nedum is related to *ne*, as *vixdum* to *vix*, *nondum* to *non*; cf. Liv. xxiv. 4. 1 puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modice laturum.

§ 16. (15) **Asseverative Particles.—Ne (nae), -ne.**—*Nē* is probably the only true spelling. The cognate Greek word *νή* had a by-form *ναί* (cf. *δή* and *δαί*), but *nae* seems a mere invention of the Italian scholars of the Renaissance, to differentiate the sense 'verily' from the sense 'lest'. *-Nĕ* affirmative is found in the Dramatists with Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns, e.g. Plaut. *Mil.* 565:

> égone si post húnc diem
> muttíuero, etiam quód egomet certó sciam,
> dato éxcruciandum mé.

(On *nē* and *nĕ*, see § 1; cf. *nē* and *nĕ* Negative, § 17.)

§ 17. (16) **Negatives.—In-, ne-, nec, non, haud, ve-.**—*Nĕ-* (I.-Eur. nĕ) is prefixed, not only to Verbs, e.g. *ne-queo* (Engl. can-not), *ne-scio*, O. Lat. *ne-vis* (ch. vi. § 23), *ne-parcunt*, &c., (cf. O. Engl. nille, nolde), but also to other parts of speech, e.g. *nĕ-fas*, *n(e)-utiquam*, *neūter* (*nĕ-*, I.-Eur. nē, appears in *nēquīquam*); *in-* (I.-Eur. *en, Gk. *ἀν-*, *ἀ-*) and *rē-* (I.-Eur. wĕ), a curtailment of I.-Eur. ăwĕ (ch. viii. § 2), only to Adjectives.[1] *Nōn* is O. Lat. *noenum* (for **nĕ-oinom*, i.e. **ne unum*, 'not one', ch. iv. § 4), with the same loss of *-um* (originally before an initial vowel

[1] *Improbare*, *infiteri*, *ignoscere*, 'not to notice', 'to overlook', cf. Ter. *Haut.* 218 et cognoscendi et ignoscendi), are seeming exceptions.

only) as is seen in *nihil* from *nihilum*. *Noenŭ* (e.g. Lucr. iii. 199 noenu potest) is perhaps a slurred pronunciation of *noenus*, representing **ne unus* Nom. Sg. Masc. (cf. *demus* and *demum*, ch. vii. § 2). *Haud*, which is confined within narrower limits than *non* in O. Lat., being found especially with Adjectives and Adverbs, usually immediately before the negated word, and never in questions, is perhaps (like Gk. *οὐ*) connected with I.-Eur. ăwĕ (cf. above). The initial *h-* was, we may suppose, added to distinguish the word from *aut*. (On the O. Lat. by-form *hau*, used before consonants, e.g. *hauscio*, see ch. ii. § 9.) *Nec* in O. Lat. has the sense of *non*. Thus Catullus (lxiv. 83) uses the phrase *funera nec funera* to express the Greek *τάφοι ἄταφοι*; the Laws of the Twelve Tables had ast ei custos nec escit (ch. vi. § 4), 'si autem ei custos non erit'; Plautus (*Most.* 240) has nec recte si illi dixeris. The *neg-* of *negotium*, *neglego* (also spelt *neclego*), seems to be a trace of this usage.

§ 18. **Interjections.**—Many Latin Interjections are borrowed from the Greek, especially the exclamations used at musical or other entertainments, e.g. *euge*, *sophŏs*, *palin*, as ours come from the Italian or French, e.g. bravo, encore. Of genuine Latin words, some are old Imperatives,[1] e.g. *em*, lo, Imper. of *emo*,[2] I take (cf. em tibi, 'take that!', 'there's for you!') (cf. § 3

[1] Our 'lo' is Imper. of 'look'.

[2] Compare Plaut. Capt. 859 A. Cedo manum. B. Em manum, 'Give me your hand. There it is' with v. 838 of the same play: A. Cedo manum. B. Tene, 'Give me your hand. Take it.' Plautus does not use *em* when more than one person is addressed, not e.g. 'em videte', but only 'em vide'.

on *vel*). *Em* (not to be confused with *hem*, an Interjection of terror, grief, &c.) was later superseded by *ēn* (Gk. *ἦν*), which in the Republican writers is used only in rhetorical questions, e.g. *ēn-umquam?* *Em* joined with *ille* (in the Acc. Case) produced *ellum*, *ellos*, &c., of the Comedians (p. 86 *n.*). So *ecce*, an Interjection of similar meaning, from the Pronoun stem ĕkŏ-, ĕkĕ- (ch. v. § 3), joined (1) with the Acc. of *hic* (wanting the enclitic *-c(e)*) produced *eccum* (for **ecce-hum*), *eccos* (for *ecce-hos*), &c., (2) with the Acc. of *ille*, *iste*, produced *eccillum*, *eccistum*, *eccillos*, *eccistos*, &c. (p. 86 *n.*). *Prō* (wrongly spelt *proh*) is the Preposition or Adverb *prō* (ch. viii. § 30), forth, 'away with it!' *Vae*, I.-Eur. wai, is the same word as our Noun 'woe'.

The names of deities occur in *hercle*, *me-hercules* (sc. *juvet*), *me-dius fĭdius* ('the god of good faith', from *fides*), *pol* (a curtailment of *Pollux*), &c.; *eccere* is either an invocation of Ceres, or *ecce re*, 'lo indeed'.

CHAPTER X

HISTORY OF LATIN SOUNDS[1]

§ 1. Ā. Original or 'Indo-European' ā occurs (1) in the First Declension, e. g. Lat. *filiā* Abl., *filiārum, filiābus* (ch. iii. § 4), *familiās* Gen. Sg. (ch. iii. § 4). In the Nom. Sg. *-ā* was shortened to *-ă* earlier than the literary period (ch. ii. § 16), e.g. *terră* (contrast Gk. *χώρᾱ*); and in the Acc. Sg. we have *-ām* not *-ām* (Gk. *χώρᾱν*), because a long vowel was always shortened before a final *-m* in Latin (ch. ii. § 16). (2) In the First Conjugation, e. g. *fā-ri* (Dor. Gk. *φᾱμί*), with its Derivatives *fā-ma* (Dor. Gk. *φᾶμᾱ*), *fābula*. (3) In Verb-roots like *gnā-*, *strā-*, developments of the primitive Verb-roots *gĕn-*, to produce, *stĕr-*, to strew, e. g. Lat. *gnā-tus* (class. *natus*), born, produced, *strā-tus*, strewn. From *tĕl-*, to carry, we have *tlā-*, e. g. *lātus* for **tlātus*; from *stĕl-*, to spread, *stlā*, e.g. *stlātus*, class. *lātus*, broad, lit. 'spread out' (§ 19). From the older form *stlātus* came *stlāta* or *stlatta*, sc. *navis*, whence the Adj. *stlattarius*, 'imported in a *stlata navis*', used by Juvenal (vii. 134 stlattaria purpura). Other examples are *grā-* of *grā-num* from the root *gĕr-*, to rub, wear away, make old (Gk. *γέρων*), *crātes* from the root *cĕrt-*, to bind, weave together. (4) The Noun suffix *-tāt-* (ch. xi. § 12), e. g. *novitās* for *-tāt-s* (ch. iii. § 8), with stem *novitāt-* (Dor. Gk. *νεο-τᾱτ-*). (5) The Adj. suffix *-āco-*, *-āc-* (ch. xi. § 11), e. g. *mĕrācus, vērāx* (cf. Gk. *νέᾱξ*). (6) The Ā-Subjunctive (ch. vi. § 13), e.g. *lēgāmus, legātis*. (7) Words like *frāter* (cf. Gk. *φρᾰ́τωρ*), *māter* (Dor. Gk. *μάτηρ*), *fāgus*, a beech-tree (Dor. Gk. *φᾱγός*), *suāvis* for **suādvis* (Dor. Gk. *ἁδύς*).

Latin *ā* often represents an original *ă*, which has been lengthened, e. g. *quālus* (older *quallus*), a basket, for **quăs-lus* (cf. *quăsillus*).

§ 2. Ă. I.-Eur. ă occurs in (1) some Verb-roots, e.g. *ag-*, to

[1] The weakened forms of the vowels when unaccented have already been described in ch. ii. §§ 14, 15. Here we are concerned with the true (unweakened) Latin equivalents of the original or Indo-European sounds.

drive, Lat. *ăgo* (Gk. *ἄγω*), with lengthened form *āg-*, Lat. *amb-āges*, and its Derivative, *agro-*, a field, Lat. *ăger* (Gk. *ἀγρός*), lit. 'where oxen are driven in ploughing', *scab-*, to scrape, dig, Lat. *scăbo* (Gk. *σκάπτω*), with a by-form *scōb-*, e.g. Lat. *scobis*, sawdust, *ar-*, to plough, Lat. *ărō* (Gk. *ἀρόω*), *sal-*, to leap, Lat. *sălio* (Gk. *ἅλλομαι*). (2) The Prepositions *ăpŏ* (Gk. *ἀπο*), Lat. *ăb*, *ăp-erio* (ch. viii. § 2), *ăd* (Engl. at), Lat. *ăd*. (3) Words like *sal-*, salt, Lat. *sal* for **sal-s* (ch. iii. § 8) with stem *săl-* (Gk. *ἅλ-ς*), *dacru-*, a tear, O. Lat. *dăcru-ma* (Gk. *δάκρυ*), class. *lacruma* (ch. ii. § 8), *alyo-*, other, Lat. *ălius* (Gk. *ἄλλος*).

There was another *ă*-sound in I.-Eur., which occurred in the weakened forms (§ 12) of Roots with Ā, Ē, Ō. Latin examples are *dătus* (Gk. *δοτός*) from the root *dō-*, to give, of Lat. *dō-num* (Gk. *δί-δω-μι*, *δῶ-ρον*); *sătus* (Gk. *ἑτός*) from the root *sē-*, to throw, throw seed, of Lat. *sē-men* (Gk. *ἵ-η-μι* for **σί-ση-μι*, *ἧ-μα*); *stătus* (Gk. *στατός*) from the root *stā-*, to stand, set up, of Lat. *stā-re* (Dor. Gk. *ἵ-στᾱ-μι* for **σι-στᾱμι*). The *ă* of *păter-*, Lat. *păter* (*πατήρ*), is an *ă* of this kind, the word being a Derivative from the root *pā-*, to protect, and meaning literally 'the protector'.

Ă occurs after *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* in the weakened forms of Ĕ-roots (§ 12) in *frăngo*, *frăgilis*, from the root bhrĕg-, 'to break', *flăgro* from the root bhlĕg-, to burn (Gk. *φλέγω*), *grădus*, a step, from the root ghrĕdh-, 'to step', &c.

§ 3. Ē. I.-Eur. ē occurs in (1) Some Verb-roots like *sē-*, to throw, throw seed, Lat. *sē-vi*, *sē-men* (Gk. *ἵη-μι*, *ἧ-μα*, § 2), *plē-*, Lat. *im-plēr-e*, *plē-nus* (Gk. *πίμ-πλη-μι*, *πλή-ρης*), a development of the primitive root *pĕl-*, to fill, *dhē-* (*dhēy-*), to suckle, Lat. *fē-mina*, *fē-lo* (usually *fello*) (Gk. *θῆ-σθαι*, *θῆ-λυς*, *θη-λή*), whence *fī-lius* for *fēlius* (ch. ii. § 15), *nē-*, to sew, spin, Lat. *nē-re*, *nē-men* (Gk. *νῆ-ν*, *νῆ-μα*), and other Verbs of the Second Conjugation (see ch. vi. § 3). Lat. *rē-s* is from a root *rē-* (*rēy-*), Lat. *spēs* from a root *sp(h)ē-* (*sp(h)ēy-*) (see ch. iii. § 13). (2) The Optative suffix, -*yē-*, found in the Sing. Persons of the Athematic Conjugation (ch. vi. § 1), e.g. O. Lat. *siēs* (Gk. *εἴης* for **ἐσ-ιη-ς*). (3) The Ē-Subjunctive (ch. vi. § 13), e.g. *amēs*, *amē-mus*, *amē-tis*. In 1 Sg. *amĕm*, 3 Sg. *amĕt* (*amēt* Plaut.), this ē was shortened by the Latin law that a long vowel is shortened before final *-m*, *-t* (ch. ii. § 16). It was similarly shortened before final *-r* in the Nom. Sg. of TER-stems (ch. ii. § 16), e.g. *patĕr* (Gk. *πατήρ*), *matĕr* (Gk. *μητήρ*).

Latin ē is sometimes due to the fusion of two vowels, e.g. *prēndo* from *prehendo*, *trēs* from **trḗyēs* (§ 13), sometimes to lengthening

by 'Compensation', e.g. *tēlum*, a web, for **tĕx-lum*, *venēnum* for **venĕs-num* (§ 20).

§ 4. **Ĕ.** This was a very common vowel in the I.-Eur. language (§ 12). It occurs, for example, (1) In a large number of Presents of the Thematic Conjugation (ch. vi. §§ 1, 4), e. g. Lat. *lĕgo* (Gk. λέγω), *sĕquor* (Gk. ἕπομαι). (2) In Neuter ĔS-stems (ch. xi. § 18), e. g. Lat. *gĕnus* (Gk. *γένος*), *tĕnus* (Gk. *τένος*), *dĕcus* (from root *dec-* of *dĕcet*). (3) In the Reduplication syllable, e. g. Lat. *mĕ-mini* (Gk. μέ-μονα). This *ĕ* was assimilated in class. Lat. in *mŏ-mordi* (older *me-mordi*), &c. (ch. vi. § 10). (4) In words like the First Pers. Pronoun, Lat. *ĕgo* (Gk. ἐγώ), the Adj. mĕdhyo-, Lat. *mĕdius* (Gk. *μέσος*, older *μέσσος*), the Numerals 'seven', 'ten', Lat. *sĕptem*, *dĕcem* (Gk. ἑπτά, δέκα). Final *e-* was found in (5) Voc. Sg. of O-stems (ch. iii. § 6), e. g. Lat. *lupĕ* (Gk. λύκε), (6) 2 Sg. Imperat. Act., e. g. Lat. *legĕ* (Gk. λέγε). (On the dropping of this *ĕ* in *dīc*, *dūc*, *fac*, see ch. ii. § 12.)

Lat. *ĕm*, *ĕn* often represents the I.-Eur. M-, N-vowel (in Gk. *α*, § 12), e. g. in (1) The Acc. Sg. of the Third Decl., e. g. *patrem*, (for **vaterem*, ch. iii. § 1) (Gk. πατέρα). (2) The numerals *centum* (Gk. ἑ-κατόν), *septĕm* (Gk. ἑπτά), *decĕm* (Gk. δέκα). (For other examples see § 12.)

Latin *ĕ* represents I.-Eur. ĕy before a vowel in *ĕo* for **ĕyō*, from the root *ei-*, to go; in the suffix *-eus* (I.-Eur. -ĕyos) of words like *aureus*, &c. (§ 13).

Before *v* I.-Eur. ĕ became *ŏ* in Latin, e. g. *novus* (I.-Eur. nĕwo-, 'new'). On *sŏ-* for *swĕ-* see § 13.

§ 5. **Ī.** For examples of I.-Eur. ī we may take (1) The Adjective-suffix *-īno-* (Gk. *κορακ-ῖνος*, *χοιρ-ῖνη*, see ch. xi. § 5), e. g. *su-īnus*. (2) The Optative-suffix *-ī-*, found in the Dual and Plural of the Athematic Conjugation (ch. vi. § 1), e. g. Lat. *s-ī-mus* (Gk. *εἰδεῖμεν* from *εἰδε(σ)-ī-μεν*), *vel-ī-mus*. This *-ī-* has found its way into the Singular too in Latin, e. g. *sīs* (older *sīēs*), *velīs* (ch. vi. § 13). (3) The Noun for strength, Lat. *vī-s* (Gk. *ἴ-s*, *ἶ-φι*); the Noun for poison, Lat. *vīrus* (Gk. *ἰός* for **Fῑσος*).

Classical Lat. *ī* comes from earlier *ei* (§ 17) in words like *dīco* from the root *deic-* (Gk. *δείκνυμι*), *fīdo* from the root bheidh- (Gk. *πείθω*), and endings like those of *tu-tud-ī* Perf. from I.-Eur. -ai (ch. vi. § 10), *Corinth-ī* Loc. Sg. from I.-Eur. -ei (ch. iii. § 6), *populi* Nom. Pl. from I.-Eur. -oi (ch. iii. § 6). It is often impossible to decide whether Lat. *ī* represents an earlier *-ei* or I.-Eur. ī. But the two are distinguished on the earliest inscriptions, till c. 150 B. C.

Lat. ī has arisen from a fusion of two vowels in *nīl, nīlum* from **nĕ-hīlum*, 'not a thread' (cf. Lucr. nec proficit hīlum), *sis* for *sī vīs*, if you please, and the like; and from lengthening by 'Compensation' in words like *nīdus* from **nĭsdus* (Engl. nest), *dīduco* from *dĭs-duco*.

§ 6. Ĭ. I.-Eur. ĭ occurs in (1) The Weak form (§ 12) of EI-roots, e. g. Lat. *in-dīco* from the root *deic-*, to point, say (Lat. *dīco*, Gk. *δείκνυμι*), Lat. *fīdes* (Gk. *ἔ-πιθ-ον*) from the root bheidh-, 'to persuade' (Lat. *fīdo*, Gk. *πείθω*), Lat. *red-ĭtus* from the root *ei-*, to go (Lat. *ī-re*, Gk. *εἶ-μι*), Lat. *mĭ-nu-o* (Gk. *μῑ-νύ-θω*), *mĭnor*, less, from the root *mei-*, to lessen. (2) The I-stem Declension (ch. iii. § 8), e.g. *ovĭ-s* (Gk. *ὄ(ϝ)ι-ς*), *ovĭ-bus*. (3) The Demonstrative and Interrogative (and Indefinite) Pronouns, Lat. *ĭ-s, quĭ-s* (ch. v. §§ 3, 6). (4) The Suffix of the Comparative -is- (Gk. Superlative -is-to-, &c.), e. g. Lat. *magĭs, mag-ĭs-ter, mĭn-is-ter*.[1]

§ 7. Ō. I.-Eur. ō occurs in (1) Verb-roots like *dō-*, to give, Lat. *dō-num, dō-s* (Gk. *δί-δω-μι, δῶ-ρον*), *pō-*, to drink, Lat. *pō-tus, pō-culum* (Gk. *πέ-πω-κα*), *gnō-*, to know, Lat. *gnō-tus, gnō-sco*, class. *nō-tus, nō-sco* (Gk. *γνω-τός, γι-γνώ-σκω*), a development of the primitive root *gĕn-*, to know. But we have no O-Conjugation in Latin (cf. *aegrōtus*) as we have an Ā-Conjugation, e.g. *stā-re* from root *stā-*, and an Ē-Conjugation, e. g. *plē-re* from root *plē-*. (2) 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. of the Thematic Conjugation (ch. vi. § 1), e. g. Lat. *legō* (Gk. *λέγω*), O. Lat. *sequōr*, class. *sequŏr* (ch. ii. § 16). (3) Nom. Sg. of R-, N-, S-stems, e.g. O. Lat. *da-tōr* (ch. ii. § 1), class. *datŏr* (cf. Gk. *δώ-τωρ*), *honōs* (cf. Gk. *αἰδώς*), *homō* (cf. Gk. *κύων*). This ō is continued through the oblique cases in *datōris, datōri*, &c., *honōris, honōri*, &c., *ratiōnis, ratiōni*, &c. (4) Abl. Sg. of O-stems, e. g. Lat. *agrō* from *-ōd* (ch. iii. § 6).

An I.-Eur. ō, which was a by-form of ōu (§ 11), appears in *ōs*, the face, mouth, *os-culum* (with a by-form *aus-culum*, Plaut.). Latin ō has arisen by fusion of vowels in *cō-pula* for *cŏ-ăpula*, from O. Lat. *apio*, to tie, fasten, with Part. *aptus*, fit, *cōgo* from *cŏ(m)* and *ăgo*, *cōpia* from *co-* and *-opia* (cf. *in-ŏpia*); and from the lengthening of ŏ by 'Compensation' in *pōno* for **po-s(i)no*, from the Preposition *(a)pŏ* (ch. viii. § 2) and *sino* (cf. *pŏ-situs*), *pōne*, behind, for **pos-nĕ* (ch viii. § 27).

Ō (open *o*, ch. ii. § 2) is the rustic form of *au* in *plostrum* for

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[1] In the Oscan and Umbrian dialects the words corresponding to Lat. *magister* and *minister* were used as Comparatives, 'greater', 'less'.

plaustrum, *Clōdius* for *Claudius*; and Lat. *ō* of *rōbus*, &c., represents I.-Eur. ou (§ 11).

§ 8. **Ŏ.** I.-Eur. ŏ occurs in (1) The O-grade of Ĕ-roots (§ 12), e. g. Lat. *dŏmus* (Gk. *δόμος*) from the root *dem-*, to build, *tŏga*, from the root *teg-*, to cover. (2) The O-grade of Ă-roots, e. g. Lat. *scŏbis*, sawdust, from the root *scăb-*, to scrape, dig (Lat. *scăbo*, Gk. *σκάπτω*). (3) The O-Declension with Nom. -ŏs, M., -ŏm N. (Gk. *-os*, *-ον*), O. Lat. *-ŏs*, *-ŏm*, e. g. O. Lat. *Luciŏs*, *donŏm*, class. Lat. *vivos*, but *Luciŭs*, *donŭm* (ch. ii. § 14). (4) The Nom. Sg. of Neut. ĔS-stems, e. g. O. Lat. *opŏs*, *Venŏs* (cf. Gk. *γένος*), class. *opŭs*, *Venŭs*, *genŭs* (ch. ii. § 14). (5) The Thematic Vowel, e. g. 3 Pl. -ont(i), O. Lat. *cosentiont*, class. *consentiunt* (ch. ii. § 14). (6) Words like the Numeral 'eight', the Noun 'master', Lat. *ŏcto* (Gk. *ὀκτά*), *pŏtis*, able (Gk. *πόσις*, master), the Prepositions 'forth' and 'with', Lat. *prŏ-ficiscor*, *cŏm-es*.

Before *v* Lat. *ŏ* became *ă*, e. g. *cavus*, older *covus*, *lavo* (Gk. *λούω*). So apparently *ō* became *ā* in *octavus* from *octo*.

After initial *v* Lat. *ŏ* became *ĕ* in the middle of the second century B.C., e. g. *versus*, older *vorsus*. Scipio Africanus Minor is said to have brought the new spelling into fashion.

§ 9. **Ū.** I.-Eur. ū occurs generally in the grade of a EU-root, as I.-Eur. ī in the grade of an EI-root, e. g. dhūmo-, 'smoke', Lat. *fūmus* (Gk. *θῦμός*), from the root dheu-, 'to move violently', mūs-, 'a mouse', Lat. *mūs* (Gk. *μῦς*).

Class. Lat. *ū* may represent I.-Eur. eu as well as ū. It may also stand for earlier Lat. *eu*, a weakening of I.-Eur. au, e. g. *defrūdo* from *de* and *fraudo* (ch. ii. § 14), &c. But in the older language, till c. 200 B. C., *eu* is always written *ou*, e. g. *douco* (I.-Eur. eu) for class. *dūco*. (Cf. the similar account of ī and *ei*, § 11.) *Ū* represents *ŭ* lengthened by 'Compensation' in *dūmus* from *dŭsmus*, a bush.

§ 10. **Ŭ.** I.-Eur. ŭ occurs generally in the weak grade of a EU-root, as I.-Eur. ĭ in the weak grade of an EI-root, e. g. yŭgo- Neut., 'a yoke', with yŭg-, the weak grade of the root yeug-, 'to join'. Latin examples are *jŭgum*, *dŭx* from *dūco* (root *deuc-*), *inclŭtus* (Gk. *κλῠτός*) from the root *cleu-*. I.-Eur. ŭ appears in the declension of U-stems, e. g. *artŭs* Nom. Sg., *artŭm* Acc. Sg., *artŭbus* Dat. Pl.; in the Prepositions ŭpŏ (Lat. *s-ub*, ch. viii. § 37), ŭpĕr (Lat. *s-ŭper*, ch. viii. § 38), &c.

§ 11. **The Diphthongs.** The I.-Eur. diphthongs appear in Latin in the process of reduction to simple vowels. By Cicero's time *ae* (from I.-Eur. ai) and *au* are the only survivors, and even they had long before in rustic or colloquial speech become single sounds, *ē*, *ō*,

e.g. '*Cēcilius*', *plōstrum* (ch. ii. § 2); *ei* (whether I.-Eur. ei or the reduction in the unaccented syllable of I.-Eur. ai, oi, ch. ii. § 14) had become ī in the beginning of the second century B.C.; *eu* (whether I.-Eur. eu or the unaccented form of I.-Eur. au, ch. ii. § 14), which appears on early inscriptions as *ou*, had become ū at the end of the third century B.C. I.-Eur. ou became a slightly different sound, which came to be written ō or ū. I.-Eur. oi passed (through *oe*) into ū at the beginning of the second century B.C., though *oe* was retained in some words of the official or legal style, like *foedus*, a treaty (cf. *poena*, a Gk. loan-word), and poetical words like *amoenus, foedus*, foul.

The long diphthongs, which were not common in I.-Eur., had some of them 'doublet'-forms (ch. ii. § 9) even in the I.-Eur. period; e.g. ēi appeared as ēi or ē (e.g. rēs, Lat. *rēs*), ōu as ōu or ō (e.g. ŏktō, Lat. *octō*). In Latin, when they were followed by a Consonant, the long element must have been shortened by the rule that any long vowel was shortened before y, w, n, m, l, r, &c. followed by a consonant;[1] when final, the second element might be suppressed, just as in later times a short final vowel was suppressed after a long syllable in words like *exemplār(e), nēv(e)* (ch. ii. § 12).

Examples are: (1) **ai.** Lat. *aedes*, lit. 'where the fire is kept up', from the root aidh-, 'to burn' (Gk. *αἴθω*). The 1 Sg. Perf. Middle ended in -ai, whence Latin (unaccented) *-ei*, e.g. *dedei*, later *-ī*, *dedī* (ch. vi. § 10); the Dat. Sg. of Cons. stems had the same ending, e.g. O. Lat. IVNONEI, class. *Junonī* (ch. iii. § 8).

(2) au. Lat. *augeo* from the root *aug-*, 'to grow', 'be strong' (Gk. *αὔξω*); Lat. *au-t, au-tem* from I.-Eur. au (Gk. *αὖ*) (ch. ix. § 3; cf. the Prep. *au-* of *au-fugio*, ch. viii. § 2).

(3) ei. Lat. *dīco*, older *deico*, from the root *deic-*, to show, say (Gk. *δείκνυμι*); *fīdo*, older *feīdo*, from the root bheidh-, 'to trust', 'cause to trust' (Gk. *πείθω*).

(4) eu. Lat. *dūco*, older *douco*, from the root *deuc-*, to lead (Germ. ziehen); *ūro*, older **ouso*, from the root *eus-*, to burn (Gk. *εὕω* for **εὔσω*).

(5) oi. Lat. *unus*, older *oinos, oenus*, from I.-Eur. oinos (Gk. *οἶνη*, the ace); *munus* from moin- (Germ. ge-mein); *ūtor* from the O-grade of the root eit- (Gk. *οἶτος*); *cunae* from the O-grade of root kei-, 'to

[1] Thus *vēntus* comes from *vē-* (Gk. *ἄ(ϝ)η-μι*, to blow); *lēntus* is a cognate of *lēnis*.

lie' (Gk. *κοί-τη* beside *κεῖ-μαι*). The Nom. Plur. Masc. of the Second Declension ended in -oi, which, being unaccented, became in Latin *-ei*, e. g. *populei*, later *-ī*, *populī* (ch. iii. § 6).

(6) ou. Lat. *bōbus*, *būbus*, Dat. Pl. of the stem g^{w}ow-, an ox (ch. iii. § 10); *rōdus*, *rūdus* (also *raudus*), unhewn stone, rough metal, &c. from the O-grade of the root reudh-, 'to be red', whence also *rōbus*, *rōbīgo*; *nūtrix*, older *nōtrix* and *noutrix*, from the O-grade of root neud-. When *ou* arose in Latin from Syncope, it is treated like I.-Eur. ou, e. g. *nuntius*, older *nontius*, from *nŏventius*; *nundinae*, older *nondinae*, from **nŏvem-dinae*.

(7) -āi. Lat. *aevum* (Gk. *αἰ(ϝ)ών*) perhaps represents I.-Eur. āiw-. I.-Eur. āi was the ending of the Dat. Sg. of the First Declension (Gk. *χώρᾳ*), and became in O. Lat. *-ā* as well as *-ai* (ch. iii. § 4).

(8) āu. I.-Eur. āu of the stem nāu-, 'a ship' (Hom. Gk. *νηῦς*), appears in Latin before a consonant as *au* (the ordinary diphthong), e. g. *nau-fragus*, *nau-stibulum*; so perhaps the āu of I.-Eur. klāu-, 'a key', in *claudo*.

(9) ēi. The doublet-form ē (see above) appears in Lat. *rēs*, *spēs* (ch. iii. § 13), and Locatives of the Fifth Declension like *die* (*crastīnī*) (ch. vii. § 13).

(10) ēu. I.-Eur. ēu appeared in the Nom. Sg. dyēus, 'the sky', which should have as Latin equivalent, *-ous* (class. *-ūs*) from *-ēus*. Latin *diēs* however shows the vocalism of the I.-Eur. Acc. Sg. dyēm (Gk. *Ζῆν-α*, Lat. *diĕm* from *diēm*, ch. ii. § 16).

(11) ōi. I.-Eur. ōi, the ending of the Dat. Sg. of the Second Declension, appeared in O. Lat. as *ō* or *oi* (ch. iii. § 6).

(12) ōu. The doublet-form ō (see above) appears in Lat. 'Dual' *-ō* of *duō*, *ambō*, *octō* (ch. iii. § 1). On *bōs* (I.-Eur. g^{w}ōus) see ch. iii. § 10.

§ 12. **Vowel-Gradation.** A root like pet- of Gk. *πέτεσθαι*, to fly, appears in the form pt- in Gk. *πτέσθαι*, the shorter form being a syncopated form of the other due to loss of accent in the I.-Eur. period. Similarly the root ei-, 'to go' (Gk. *εἶ-σι*, Lat. *it*, older *ei-t*, ch. vi. § 20), loses the *ĕ* of the diphthong in the Perf. Part. Pass. ï-tó- (Gk. *ἐξ-ιτός*, Lat. *-itus*), where the accent falls on the suffix; and eu becomes ŭ, through loss of accent, in I.-Eur. bhūgā́, 'flight' (Gk. *φυγή*, Lat. *fuga*) from bheúgō, 'I flee' (Gk. *φεύγω*); while en, em, er, el, similarly reduced, appear before a vowel as n, m, r, l, e. g. Gk. *γί-γν-ο-μαι*, Lat. *gi-gn-ō*, beside Gk. *γέν-ος*, Lat. *gĕnus*; but before a consonant, ^{e}n, ^{e}m, ^{e}r, ^{e}l, reduced sounds which in Greek appear as *α*, *ρα*, *λα*, e. g. *φατός* from *φεν-*, to kill, *δρακών*

from δερκ-, to glance, in Latin as *ĕn*, *ĕm*, *ăl*, *ŏr*, e.g. *tentus* (Gk. τα-τός) from ten-, 'to stretch', *cor* for *cord* (ch. ii. § 9) (Gk. καρδίη, καρδία). These reduced forms pt, bhŭg, t^{n}n, &c., are called the 'weak' grades of these E-roots pet-, bheug-, ten-. When the root had a long vowel, the weak grade shows in Latin the vowel *ă*, in Greek the short form of the vowel of the root, e.g. *dă-tus* (Gk. δο-τός) from the root dō-, 'to give' (Lat. *dō-num*, Gk. δῶ-ρον), *sătus* (Gk. ἑ-τός) from the root sē-, 'to throw seed' (Lat. *sē-men*, Gk. ἧμα for *σημα), *stătus* (Gk. στα-τός) from the root stā-, 'to stand, set up' (Lat. *stā-men*, Gk. στή-μων).

E-roots had beside a 'weak grade' also an 'O-grade', e.g. dŏmŏ- 'a house' (Gk. δόμος) from the root dĕm-, 'to build' (Gk. δέμω). Latin examples of the O-grade are *domus*; *procus*, a suitor, from the root *prec-*, to ask (Lat. *precor*); *toga*, from the root *teg-*, to cover (Lat. *tego*); *moneo*, from the root *men-*, to remember (Lat. *me-min-i* from **me-men-ei*); *torreo*, from the root *ters-*, to be dry (Gk. τέρσομαι). They had also a 'long grade',[1] sometimes with ē, e.g. I.-Eur. rēg-, 'a king' (Lat. *rēx*), sometimes with ō, e.g. I.-Eur. bhōr-, 'a thief' (Gk. φώρ).

These Gradations of Vowels are seen not only in root-syllables, but in Suffixes. For example, the appearance of -ĕ in the Voc. Sing. of O-stems (Lat. *equĕ*, Gk. ἵππε) and the alternation of -ŏs Nom. Acc. Sg. with -ĕs- in the other cases of Neuter ĔS-stems (Gk. *γένος*, *γέν-ε(σ)-os*, *γέν-ε(σ)-ĭ*, &c.; Lat. *gen-us*, *gen-er-is*, *gen-er-ī* from **gen-os*, **gen-es-es*, **gen-es-ai*, &c. ch. iii. § 8) are parallel to the variation of ĕ and ŏ in dĕmō and dŏmŏs. Similarly -ēn, -ōn (with -ĕn, -ŏn) in the declension of N-stems (see ch. iii. § 8), -ēr, -ōr (with -ĕr, -ŏr) in the declension of R-stems are parallel to the variation of ĕ with ē and ō in rĕgō and rēg-s, bhĕrō and bhōr(s).

§ 13. **Y, W.** I.-Eur. y is Latin *j*, which had the sound of our *y* (ch. ii. § 3), e.g. *jugum* (I.-Eur. yūgŏm, Gk. ζυγόν). In the middle of a word after a consonant this became the vowel *i*,[2] e.g. *medius* (I.-Eur. mĕdhyŏs, Gk. μέσ(σ)os).[3] In *Jupiter*, *Jovem* Acc. (O. Lat. *Diovem*), the *j* has come from I.-Eur. dy-, but after other initial consonants the y was dropped, e.g. *suo* for **syuo* (Engl. 'sew'); *heri*

[1] This grade is thought to have arisen from the suppression of a following short vowel, e.g. rēg-s Nom. Sg. from an older rĕg-ŏ-s, bhōr(s) Nom. Sg. from an older bhŏr-ŏ-s.

[2] Cf. *etiam* for *et jam*, *nunciam* for *nunc jam*.

[3] In Gk. -py- became -πτ, so that Latin Verbs in *-pio*, e.g. *sapio*, correspond to Gk. Verbs in -πτω, e.g. τύπτω, χαλέπτω.

for **hyesi* (Gk. *χθές*). Between vowels y was dropped in Latin, e. g. *trēs* from I.-Eur. trèyĕs ; *formō* for *formā(y)ō* like Gk. *τιμᾶ(γ)ω* (ch. vi. § 2).

I.-Eur. w is Latin *v*, which had the sound of our *w* (ch. ii. § 8), e. g. *vīdī* from root weid-, 'to see, know' (Gk. *(ϝ)οιδα*, Engl. wit). Initial *dv-* became *b*, e. g. *bellum* (older *duellum*), *bonus* (older *duonus*), *bis* (older *duis* ; cf. *duo*). Initial swĕ- became *sŏ-*, e. g. *soror* from I.-Eur. swésōr (Gk. *ἔορες* Pl.). Before *u*, *v* was dropped in the endings *-vus*, *-vum* ; e. g. *divus* (older *deivus*) became **deius*, then (with loss of *y* between vowels) *deus*[1] ; *Gnaevus* became *Gnaeus* ; *bovum* became *boum*. (On the spelling of the Republican period *-vos*, *-vom*, see ch. ii. § 14.)

§ 14. **M, N.** I.-Eur. m, n remain unchanged in Latin, e. g. *m* in *mater* (I.-Eur. māter-) ; *medius* (I.-Eur. mĕdhyo-) ; *-m* (Gk. *-ν*) of the Acc. Sing. and Gen. Plur., e. g. *terram*, *dominum*, *terrarum*, *dominorum* ; *n* in *novus* (I.-Eur. nĕwo-) ; *nāvis* (I.-Eur. nāu-).

Lat. *em*, *en* often represent not I.-Eur. m, n but I.-Eur. °m, °n (Gk. *ă*) in the weak grade (§ 12) of E-roots, e. g. *tentus* (Gk. *τα-τός*), I.-Eur. t°n-to-, with the weak grade of the root ten-, 'to stretch' ; *-em* of the Acc. Sg. of Consonant stems, e. g. *patrem* (Gk. *πατέρα*). Thus *-men* of the Nom. Acc. Sg. Neut. is I.-Eur. -m°n, e. g. *sēmen* (Gk. *ἧμα*).

§ 15. **L, R.** I.-Eur. l, r remain unchanged in Latin, e. g. *linquo* from the root leiqᵘ- (Gk. *λείπω*) ; *rego* from the root rĕg- (Gk. *ὀ-ρέγω*) ; *rŭber* from I.-Eur. rūdhro- (Gk. *ἐ-ρῠθρός*).

Lat. *ŏl*, *ŏr* are representatives of I.-Eur. °l, °r in the 'weak grade' (§ 12) of E-roots, e. g. *pulsus*, older **poltos* (Gk. *παλτός*), from the root pel- ; *cor*, older *cord-* (Gk. *κραδίη*, *καρδία*) ; *fors* from I.-Eur. bh°r-ti- (O. Engl. gebyrd, 'fate') from the root bher- (Lat. *fero*) ; *cornus*, cornel (Gk. *κράνος*).

§ 16. **P, B, BH.** I.-Eur. p is Lat. *p*, e. g. *pecu* (I.-Eur. pĕku-, Germ. Vieh, 'cattle') ; *septem* (I.-Eur. sĕpt°m, Gk. *ἑπτά*). *P* becomes *m* before *n* or *m*, e. g. *somnus* for **sop-nos* (cf. *sop-or*). I.-Eur. b is Lat. *b*, e. g. *bibo* (for **pibo*, by Assimilation ; I.-Eur. pībō). Before *n* or *m* Lat. *b* became *m*, e. g. *scamnum* for **scāb-num* (cf. *scābellum*). I.-Eur. bh, when initial, became Lat. *f*, when medial *b*, e. g. *fero* (I.-Eur. bhĕrō, Gk. *φέρω*, Engl. bear) ; *frater* (cf. I.-Eur. bhrātor-, Gk. *φρᾰ́τωρ*, Engl. brother) ; *nebula* (Gk. *νεφέλη*). A good example of and *b* is the word for a beaver, *fiber* (I.-Eur. bhĕbhru-).

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[1] The Cases *di*, *dis* probably come from *divi*, *divis*, as *sis* from *si vis* (p. 16 *n.*).

§ 17. T, D, DH. I.-Eur. t is Lat. *t*, e. g. *ten-tus* from the root ten-, 'to stretch'. Before *l* it was dropped when initial, e. g. *lātus*, carried, for **tlātus*, P. P. P. of *fero*, *tuli*; but became *c* when medial; thus the suffix -tlo- (ch. xi. § 9) became *-clo-* in Latin, e. g. *cubiclum* or *cubiculum*. I.-Eur. d is Lat. *d*, e. g. *decem* (I.-Eur. dĕk^{e}m, Gk. *δέκα*). (On *l* for *d* in *lingua*, earlier *dingua*, &c., see ch. ii. § 8.) Final *-d* was dropped after a long vowel toward the end of the third cent. B.C., though it is found in Plautus in *mēd*, *tēd*[1] (class. *me*, *te*), as well as *haud* (ch. ii. § 9; ch. iii. § 4). Final -nt became Lat. *-ns*, e. g. *quotiens* (ch. iv. § 4). I.-Eur. dh became *f* in Latin, which in proximity to *r* became *b*; but in the middle of a word between vowels *d* is found; e. g. *fumus*. I.-Eur. dhūmŏ- (Gk. *θῡμός*); *rūber* (stem *rūbro-*), I.-Eur. rūdhrŏ- (Gk. *ἐ-ρυθρός*); *fīdo*, I.-Eur. bheidhō (Gk. *πείθω* for **φειθω*). A good example of *f* and *d* is *fā-c-io* beside *con-dō*, both from the root dhē- of Gk. *τί-θη-μι* (ch. vi. § 23). T, d or dh before t produced a sibilant, Lat. *ss*, e. g. Lat. *passus*, for **pat-tus*, from *patior*; *egressus*, for **egred-tus*, from *egredior*; *confīsus*, older *confīssus* (ch. ii. § 9) with *-ss-* from -dht-.

§ 18. K, G, GH. We must distinguish in I.-Eur. (1) The Palatals, k, g, gh, e. g. k^{e}ntom, 'hundred' (Lat. *centum*, Gk. *ἑ-κατόν*), for which some I.-Eur. languages have a Sibilant. (2) The Gutturals Proper, k, g, gh, e. g. kĕrt-, 'to plait' (Lat. *crātes*, *cartilāgo*, Gk. *κάρ-ταλος*, basket), which remain Gutturals in all I.-Eur. languages. (3) Labiovelars, q^{u}, g^{w}, gh^{w}, e. g. q^{u}etwor-, 'four' (Lat. *quattuor*, Gk. *τέσσαρες*), q^{u}o-, the Relative (Lat. *qui*, *quō*, &c.; Gk. *ποῦ*), which become Labials in some languages.

I.-Eur. Palatal k, g, gh are Latin *c*, *g*, *h*, e. g. *centum*, *gnōsco* (Gk. *γι-γνώσκω*), *hortus* (Gk. *χόρτος*). The I.-Eur. Gutturals Proper, k, g, gh are likewise Latin *c*, *g*, *h*, e. g. *crātes*, *jugum* (Gk. *ζυγόν*), *hostis* (Engl. guest).[2] I.-Eur. Labiovelar q^{u} is Latin *qu*, e. g. *quattuor*, *qui*; g^{w} is Latin *v*, but after a consonant *gu*, and before a consonant *g*, e. g. *vīvus* (I.-Eur. g^{w}īwo-), *venio* (Gk. *βαίνω*, Engl. 'come'); *unguo* from the root ong^{w}-; *agnus* (I.-Eur. ag^{w}no-, Gk. *ἀμνός* for **ἀβνος*): gh^{w} is Lat. *f*, when initial, but between vowels *v*, after a consonant *gu*, and before a consonant *g*, e. g. *formus* (I.-Eur. gh^{w}ormo-; cf. Gk.

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[1] Also *sēd* on Inscriptions, but apparently not in Plautus.

[2] *Gradior* comes from the weak form ghr^{e}dh- of the root ghredh-. The first of the two aspirates lost, by a phonetic law, its aspiration, g(h)redh-. Hence the Latin word begins with *g*, not *h*.

θερμός) ; *nivem* Acc. Sg. (Gk. *νίφα*) and *ninguit*, both from the root (s)neigh^{w}-, 'to snow', 'be wet', whence Engl. 'snow'.

Lat. *c* became *g* before *n*, e. g. *ilignus* from *ilex*. Initial *gn* became *n* at the beginning of the second century B. C., e. g. (*g*)*nōsco* (cf. *co-gnosco*), (*g*)*natus* (cf. *co-gnatus*).

§ 19. **S.** I.-Eur. s remains in Latin, e. g. *septem* (I.-Eur. sĕpt^{e}m, Gk. *ἑπτά*), but between vowels took the soft or voiced sound (as in our Verb 'use', while our Noun 'use' has the hard or unvoiced sound) and passed in the fourth cent. B. C. into *r*,[1] e. g. *-ārum* from earlier *-āsōm* in the Gen. Pl. of the First Declension (ch. iii. § 4), *generis* from **genesĕs* (Gk. *γένε(σ)ος*), *arboris* from **arbosĕs*. Before a consonant like *d*, *l*, *m*, *n*, the *s* was dropped, e. g. *nūrus* from I.-Eur. snŭso- (Gk. *νυός*), with lengthening of the preceding vowel, e. g. *nīdus* from *nisdo-* (Engl. nest). Before *r* in the middle of a word *s* became *b*, e. g. *sobrinus* for **swĕsrinus* from I.-Eur. swĕsor-, 'a sister'. After *r* and *l* it was assimilated, e. g. *porrum* from **porsum* (Gk. *πράσον*), *collum* for *colso-* (Germ. Hals).

In early Latin we find a group *stl-* at the beginning of a few words corresponding to class. *l* ; e. g. *stlis* (also *slis*) was the old form of *lis*, retained in the legal phrase *decemviri stlitibus judicandis* in Cicero's time (Cic. *Or.* 46. 156) ; *stlocus* and *slocus*, of *locus* ; *stlātus*, of *lātus*, broad (§ 1).

§ 20. **Consonant-Groups.** The difficulty of pronouncing certain consonant-groups often led to a consonant being dropped or else assimilated to its neighbour. We have just had one instance, *stl-* and *sl-* becoming *l-*. Similarly *gn-* became *n-* at the beginning of the second century B. C., e. g. *natus*, older *gnatus*. Examples of the loss of a consonant in a group (cf. our 'Satur(n)day', 'be(t)st', 'cas(t)le', 'go(d)spel') are :—

(1) **l(c)t, l(c)s, r(c)t, r(c)s, r(t)c, s(c)t, c(t)s, r(t)s**

[1] See ch. i. § 5. Livy speaking of Sp. Furius Fusus, the consul of 464 B. C., says that some of the early historians spelt the name *Fusio-* (iii. 4. 1 Furios 'Fusios' scripsere quidam). The only instances in classical Latin of intervocalic *s* are (1) words where *ss* originally stood, e. g. *formosus*, (2) loan-words, e. g. *gaesum* (Gaulish).

or **r(d)s**, e.g. *ultus* for **ulctus*, *mulsi* for **mulcsi*, *fortis*, O. Lat. *forctis* and *forctus*, *tortus* for **torctus*, *torsi* for **torcsi*, *corculum* for **cort-culum* from *cor(d)*, *pastum* for **pasctum*, *nox* for **nocts*, *ars* for **arts*, *arsi* for **ardsi*.

(2) **r(g)n**, **r(g)m**, **r(d)n**, **r(b)m**, e.g. *urna* for **urgna* (cf. *urceus*), *tormentum* for **torgmentum* from *torqueo*, *orno* for **ordno* (cf. *ordino*), *sarmentum* for **sarbmentum* from *sarpo*.

(3) **(t)sc**, **(c)sc**, **(p)sp**, **(p)st**, **(p)sc**, **(s)ps**, **(n)gn**, **(r)st**, **(r)sc**, e.g. *esca* for **etsca* from *ĕdo*, *disco* for **dicsco* (cf. *di-dic-i*), *asporto* for **apsporto* from *abs* and *porto*, *ostendo* for **opstendo* from *obs* and *tendo* (but *obstinatus*), *Oscus*, older *Opscus* (*Obscus*), *ipse* probably for **is-pse*, *ignis* for **engnis* (I.-Eur. ᵉngni-), *fastigium* for **farstigium* (Engl. bristle), *Tuscus* from **Turscus*.

(4) **(c)sn** or **(g)sn**, **(c)sl** or **(g)sl**, **(c)sm** or **(g)sm**, e.g. *luna* for **lusna* from **lucsna*, *telum* for **teslum* from **tecslum*, *ala* for **asla* from **acsla*, *subtemen* for **subtesmen* from **subtecsmen*.[1]

The loss of a consonant in a group is often really due to Assimilation. Thus the loss of *s* in *hordeum* for **hors-deum* (Germ. Gerste) cannot be separated from the assimilation of *s* to *r* in the group *rs*, e.g. *horreo* for **horseo*. Examples of Assimilation are furnished by the Preposition in Compounds, e.g. **pc**, *oc-caeco*, *suc-curro*, **pf**, *of-ficio*, **bg**, *suggero*, &c., &c. This Assimilation of the Preposition was the rule in Early Latin; e.g. Plautus

[1] The Forum inscription offers IOVXMENTO- for *jumentum*, a derivative of *jungo*.

puns on *assum*, 'I am here' and *assum*, 'roasted' in *Poen.* 279:

> Mílphio, heus ubi tu és? Assum apud te eccum. Át ego clixus sís uolo;

but the introduction of grammatical studies brought in the fashion of writing the Preposition in its independent form, *ad-sum*, &c. Other examples of Assimilation of Consonants are: ld, *percello* for **per-celdo* (cf. *clādes*); ln, *collis*[1]; ls, *collum* (Germ. Hals). When *s* was assimilated to a following voiced consonant the consonant was at first written double, e.g. *quallus* from **quăslus* (cf. *quasillus*[2]), but afterwards single, the vowel being lengthened by 'Compensation', *quālus*. So *aula* and *olla* (older *aulla*) for **auxla* (cf. *auxilla*); *vēlum* (older *vellum*) for **vexlum* (cf. *vexillum*); *anhelus* (older *anhellus*) for **an-enslus* (ch. ii. § 15).

While Assimilation affects neighbouring consonants,[3] Dissimilation affects consonants in neighbouring (or at least not far removed) syllables. The repetition of *l* in a word was avoided by the substitution of *r* for one *l*. The I.-Eur. suffix -tlo- (ch. xi. § 9), Lat. *-clo-*, became *-cro-* after a stem with *l*, e.g. *fulcrum* from *fulcio*, *sepulcrum*

[1] *Ulna* had originally a vowel between *l* and *n* (cf. Gk. ὠλένη). Terence's *tennitur*, for *tenditur*, 'the snare is laid' (for a bird), is a country-form taken from hunters' language. The *nd* of the Gerund was *nn* in various dialects of Italy; e. g. Latin *operandum* is in Oscan *opsannom*.

[2] The Diminutive *quasillus* was a recent formation, made after the Phonetic Law, by which *s* became between vowels *r* in Latin (§ 19), had ceased to act.

[3] Of Assimilation of vowels in neighbouring syllables examples are *momordi*, *poposci*, &c., in O. Lat. *memordi*, *peposci* (see p. 37).

from *sepelio, lavācrum* from *lavo, simulācrum* from *simulo*; and the Latin Grammarians prescribed the use of the suffix *-ris* when the stem contained an *l*, of *-lis* when it contained an *r*, e.g. *mŏlaris, auguralis*. The reluctance of the Romans to have *r* in two successive syllables is seen in forms like *praestīgiae* for *praestrigiae*, legerdemain, *incrēbui* for *increbrui*. *Sempiternus* seems similarly to represent **semperternus*, and the by-form *tĕgus* to be due to a declension *tergus, te(r)goris*, &c. When two neighbouring syllables had *s* followed by a consonant, the second *s* was dropt, e.g. *spopondi* for *spospondi*. The wardrobe-woman, who looked after her mistress' clothes, was called *vestispĭca* (from *vestis* and *spicio*), but this word was pronounced (and often spelled) *vestipica*. Of the entire suppression of one of two similar or identical neighbouring syllables examples are: *nutrix* for *nu(trī)-trix, idolatria* for *ido(lo)-latria, accestis* (Virg.) for *acce-(ssi)stis*. (See p. 30.)

CHAPTER XI

FORMATION OF WORDS

I. NOUN- AND ADJECTIVE-STEMS.

§ 1. Stem-suffixes. For the forming of words we find sounds combined into 'roots', and these developed into 'stems'. Thus the sounds t, e, and g are combined into the root tĕg-, 'to cover' (Lat. *teg-o*, *teg-men*, *tectus* for **teg-tus*, *tog-a* with Ŏ-grade of root, ch. x. § 12), which is further developed into the stems tŏgā- (Lat. Nom. Sg. *togă*, earlier *togā*, Gen. Pl. *togā-rum*, &c.), tegmen- (Lat. Nom. Sg. *tegmen*, Gen. Sg. *tegmĭnis*, earlier **teg-men-es*, &c.) by the addition to the root of the stem-suffixes -ā-, -men-. It is these stem-suffixes, used in the making of Nouns and Adjectives, which will be treated in §§ 2–19.

§ 2. (1) -Ŏ-, -Ā-. -Ŏ-, which should rather be called the Ĕ-Ŏ-suffix, since it alternates with -ĕ- (e. g. I.-Eur. Voc. Sg. of Masc. Ŏ-stems ended in -ĕ, e. g. ekwĕ, 'O horse', Lat. *equĕ*), was associated with the Masc. and Neut. Gender. -A-, which should rather be called the Ă-suffix, since it alternates with ă (e. g. I.-Eur. Voc. Sg. of Fem. A-stems ended in -ă, e. g. ekwā, 'O mare') was associated with the Fem. Gender. Hence the O- and A-suffixes were used in Adjectives, e. g. I.-Eur. nĕwŏ- Masc. and Neut., nĕwā- Fem. (Lat. *novos*, *novom*, *nova*). The A-suffix is very common in Abstract Nouns (Nomina Actionis), e. g. I.-Eur. bhugā 'the action of fleeing' (Gk. *φυγή*), Lat. *fuga*, from the weak grade (ch. x. § 12) of the root bheug-, 'to flee' (Gk. *φεύγω*; cf. Lat. *fugio*). The O-suffix is used in a great variety of ways. An example of its use in Nomina Agentis is Lat. *procus*, a suitor, from the O-grade (ch. x. § 12) of the root prek-, 'to ask' (cf. Lat. *precor*). Other examples of the suffix are: *parcus*, sparing, from *parco*, I spare; *dolus*, a stratagem, from the O-grade of a root del-, 'to deceive'; *jugum*, a yoke, from the weak grade of the root yeug-, 'to join'.

§ 3. (2) -IŎ-, -IĀ- (-ŸŎ-, -ŸĀ-). These I.-Eur. suffixes were used to form (*a*) Verbal Adjectives, especially Gerundives, the Neuter and Fem. being often employed as Verbal Nouns, e. g. *socius*

from the O-grade of the root seqᵘ- 'to accompany' (Lat. *sequor*); *eximius*, which had originally the sense of *eximendus* (e. g. Ter. *Hec.* 66: utin eximium neminem habeam? 'am I to make no exception?'); *studium* from *studeo*; *exuviae* from *exuo*; *pluvia* from *pluo*. (*b*) Adjectives derived from Nouns, especially Compound Adjectives, the Neuter and Fem. being often used as Abstract Nouns, e. g. *patrius* from *pater*; *somnium*, a dream, from *somnus*, sleep; *falsijurius* from *falsus* and *jus*; *jur(i)gium* from *jus* and *ago*; *litigium* from *lis* and *ago*; *judicium* from *jus* and *dico*; *aedificium* from *aedes* and *facio*; *vindēmia* from *vinum* and *demo*. (*c*) Adjectives which have a sense of comparison or distinction, indicating a special locality, direction, &c., e. g. I.-Eur. mĕdhyo- (Gk. *μέ(σ)σος*), Lat. *medius*; I.-Eur. ălyo- (Gk. *ἄλλος*), Lat. *alius*. Gk. *δεξιός* has this suffix, while Lat. *dexter* (Gk. *δεξιτερός*) has the TERO-suffix, which has the same force (§ 8). Also some Ordinal Numbers, e. g. Lat. *tertius*.

A notable use of this suffix in Latin is in the formation of Proper Names. While in all, or most, of the other I.-Eur. languages Compounds were used for Proper Names, the son taking a Compound slightly varied from the father's (e. g. Gk. *Δινο-κράτης*, son of *Δινο-κλῆς*, Germ. Walt-bert, son of Wald-ram), the Latins used simple stems with this IO-suffix, e. g. *Lūcius*, *Stātius*, which correspond to some contracted or pet-names in the other I.-Eur. nations, e. g. Gk. *Ζεύξ-ιας*, for the more ceremonious *Ζεύξ-ιππος*, *Λεῦκις* beside *Λεύκ-ιππος*.

The ending *-eus* (from -ĕ-yŏ-s) arose from the addition of this IO-suffix to O-stems, e. g. *aureus*, made of gold, from *aurum* (stem *aurŏ-*, *aurĕ-*, gold), and came to acquire the sense of material, 'made of', 'composed of'. It was in time assigned to any stem; e. g. in *flammeus*, made of fire, it is added to an A-stem; in *viteus*, made of a vine, to an I-stem; in *corneus*, made of horn, to a U-stem. The ending *-tōrium*, which arose from the addition of the IO-suffix to TER-stems (see below), indicated the place or instrument of an action, e. g. *audītorium*, 'the place of hearing', *deversorium* for **devertorium* (ch. x. § 17), 'a lodging-place', *scalp-torium*, 'an instrument for scratching', and corresponds to Gk. *-τηριον* of *βουλευ-τήριον*, *ἐργαστήριον*, both indicating place, *καυσ-τήριον*, 'instrument for burning', *κρι-τήριον*, 'means of judging'. Similarly we have *-mōnium*, *-mōnia* from MEN-stems (see below), e. g. *ali-monia* and *ali-monium* (cf. *ali-men-tum*), *flamonium* from *flamen*, an ending extended to *tristimonia*, *sancti-monia*, &c. A common ending of Abstract Nouns is *-ītia* (often *-ities*, ch. iii. § 13), e. g. *laetītia* from *laetus* (stem *laeto-*), *-ītium*, e. g. *servitium* from *servus* (stem *servo-*), *flagitium*, *lanitium*.

From N-stems we have, e. g. *cōlōnia*, in O. Lat. 'a dwelling place' (Plaut. *Aul.* 576: ut conmutet coloniam).

§ 4. (3) -UŎ-, -UĀ- (-WŎ-, -WĀ-). This suffix is much used in Adjectives denoting colour, e. g. *helvus* (Engl. yellow from I.-Eur. ghël-wŏ-), *furvus* (older **fus-uos*; cf. *fus-cus*; on the change of *s* to *r* see ch. x. § 19), *flāvus*, *rāvus*. Greek Verbal Adjectives in *-τεος* for *-τεϝος*, with Gerundive force, e. g. *διωκτέος*, requiring to be pursued, capable of being pursued, are in Latin represented by formations in *-uus*, e. g. *caeduus*, *excipuus*, *praecipuus*, *conspicuus*, *pascuus*, and *aruus* (Plaut. *Truc.* 149: non aruos hic sed pascuos ager est; whence *arvum*), while another class of Verbal Adjectives, derived from Verbal Noun TI-stems (see below) and denoting state or condition, end in *-tīvus*, e. g. *furtivus* from the Verbal Noun-stem *furti-*, of which the Acc. Sg. survives in the Adverb *furtim* (ch. vii. § 3), *nativus*, *captivus*, *votivus*. Examples of Adjectives with the UO-suffix derived from Nouns are: *annuus* from *annus*; *Minerva* (O. Lat. *Menerua*) for **Menes-ua* from I.-Eur. mĕnŏs Neut. (stem mĕnĕs-), 'intelligence' (Gk. *μένος*); *strēnuus* (cf. Gk. *στρῆνος*, health); *patruus* from *pater*.

§ 5. (4) -NŎ-, -NĀ-. This I.-Eur. suffix was chiefly used in the formation of Verbal Adjectives, usually with the force of a Perfect Participle Passive, e. g. Lat. *plenus*, lit. 'filled', *donum*, lit. 'a thing given'. In Greek we find some Adjectives of Time in *-ῖνος*, derived from a Locative Case ending in ĭ, e. g. *χειμερι-νός*, *ἐαρι-νός*, *ἑσπερι-νός*, and correspondingly in Latin *hibernus*, *vernus*, *vesperna*, the evening meal. Adjectives in *-īnus* in Latin, like *fāginus*, *juncinus* show an I.-Eur. suffix -ĭnŏ-, denoting material or origin, e. g. Gk. *φήγ-ινος*, made of beech-wood, *βύβλινος*, made of papyrus, &c. The suffix *-īnos* in Greek, denoting species, occurs frequently with the names of animals, e. g. *δελφακ-ίνη* from *δέλφαξ*, *κορακ-ῖνος* from *κόραξ*; and similarly in Latin we have *bovīnus*, *equīnus*, *suīnus* (Engl. swine), *fibrīnus*, &c., the feminine often being employed with ellipse of *caro*, flesh, e. g. *vitŭlina*, veal, *suina*, pork. Latin *-īnus* is often due to the addition of the NO-suffix to IO-stems, e. g. *Latinus* from *Latium* (though, when the suffix -īno-, and not -no-, is added, we have *-iēnus*, e. g. *alienus*, from *alius*, *laniena* from *lanius*), or to I-stems, e. g. *marinus* from *mare*, *piscina* from *piscis*. The suffix *-tīnus* of *diu-tinus*, *cras-tinus*, *pris-tinus*, &c., is more strictly the second part of a Compound than a suffix, representing a word for 'time' derived from the root ten-, 'to stretch', just as *-gnus* of *privignus* represents a word derived from the root gen-, 'to produce'. The

-gnus of *īlignus*, *sălignus*, *lărignus*, on the other hand, shows the suffix -no-, the *g* being the development before *n* (ch. x. § 18) of the final *c* of the stems *ilic-*, *salic-*, *laric-*, and was by their analogy extended to other tree-adjectives like *abiegnus* from *abiēs* (stem *abiēt-*). Similarly *-ānus*, the ending of Adjectives formed with the NO-suffix from A-stems (e. g. *silvanus* from *silva*, *arcanus* from *arca*, *decimanus* from *decima*, sc. *pars*, the tenth part, tithe, e. g. *ager decimanus*, land paying tithes, an Adjective which somehow acquired the sense of 'large', 'huge', e. g. *decimanus acipenser*, 'a huge sturgeon') is extended to Adjectives from other stems, e. g. *urbanus* from *urbs* (stem *urbi-*). By the addition of this NO-suffix to Nomina Agentis in *-or* we get *-urnus*, e. g. *taciturnus*, while ĒS-stems give *-ēnus* (ch. x. § 19), e. g. *aënus* from *aes*; *venenum*, lit. 'philtre', 'love-potion', from *Venus* (stem *venes-*); *egenus* (cf. *eges-tas*): we have *-ūna* from a U-stem in *lacuna*. A common use of the NO-suffix in Latin is to form Distributive Numerals, e. g. *quaterni*, *bini*, *trini*, *terni* (ch. iv. § 5). The termination *-īna*[1] is found in *sarcina* from *sarcio*, *pāgina* from *pango* (cf. *compāges*).

§ 6. (5) **-MĔNŎ-**, **-MĒNĀ-** (**-MNŎ-**, **-MNĀ-**). This suffix was used in the Middle or Passive Participles of Thematic Tenses of the I.-Eur. Verb (e. g. Gk. *φερό-μενος*); and although these Participles were lost in Latin, traces of this formation remain in the 2 Pl. Pres. Ind. e. g. *legimini* for *legimini estis* (ch. vi. § 17); perhaps also the 2 Pl. Pres. Imper. e. g. *legimini*; *alumnus*, *ὁ τρεφόμενος*; *fēmina* from the root dhē-, 'to suckle'; *Vertumnus*,[2] the god of the changing seasons, from *verto*; *calumn-ia* from O. Lat. *calvor*, to deceive. Stems with this suffix often stand side by side with MEN-stems, e. g. *columna* beside *columen*, *terminus* beside *termen* and *termo*.

The ending *-mnus* in Latin often arises from the addition of the NO-suffix to a stem ending in a Labial (ch. x. § 16), e. g. *somnus* for **sop-nus* (cf. *sopor*), *damnum* (cf. Gk. *δαπάνη*), *scamnum* (cf. *scabellum*), &c.

§ 7. (6) **-MŎ-**, **-MĀ-**. Of this suffix, used to form Adjectives, Nouns, especially Masculine Nouns but sometimes Fem., and

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[1] *Angina* is either a similar formation from *ango* or a Latin transliteration of *ἀγχόνη* (as *machina* of *μηχανή*). Doctors are wrong in talking of 'angīna pectoris'.

[2] The flower *vertumnus* is our heliotrope, which is always 'turning itself' to the sun.

Superlatives (ch. iv. § 2). Latin examples are : *formus*, warm (Gk. *θερμός*, Engl. warm) from the root ghʷer- ; *fūmus* (Gk. *θῡμός*) from the root dheu- ; *animus* (Gk. *ἄνεμος*) ; *fama* (Gk. *φήμη*) ; *palma* (Gk. *παλάμη*) ; *minimus*, *summus* for **supmus* (ch. x. § 16). The suffix -tĕmŏ- (ch. iv. § 2) had a local rather than a superlative meaning, e. g. *maritimus*, *finitimus* ; but *intimus*, *ultimus*, *citimus* have acquired a superlative force ; similarly *optimus*, if from *ob.* (But cf. p. 76.)

§ 8. (7) **-RŎ-, -RĀ-.** This suffix in its various forms was used to make Adjectives and Concrete Nouns, e. g. I.-Eur. rŭdhro-, 'red', from the weak grade of the root reudh- (Gk. *ἐ-ρῠθρός*), Lat. *rŭber* ; I.-Eur. ägro-, 'a field', from the root ag-, 'to drive' (Gk. *ἀγρός*), Lat. *ager*. In Latin the Nom. Sg. ending *-rŏs* became after a short vowel *-er* (ch. iii. § 6), as is seen in these two examples, but not after a long vowel, e. g. *plērus* (ch. vii. § 3), *gnārus*, *mātūrus* (cf. *pēnūria*). The suffixes -ĔRŎ-, -TĔRŎ- became Comparative Suffixes in Greek (ch. iv. § 2), though their original sense was rather that of likeness, of equal than of greater degree (cf. Hom. Gk. *θηλύτερος*, feminine, not 'more feminine'). Latin Adverbs in *-iter* have the TERO-suffix (ch. vii. § 2), e. g. *breviter* (Gk. *βραχύτερος*) ; so have *magis-ter*, *minis-ter*, *ci-ter*, *ex-ter* ; while with a prefixed *-as-* (cf. Gk. *-αδ-* of *πελειάς*, *-άδος*, a wild dove) we have *-aster*, a suffix implying imitation, e. g. *oleaster*, a wild olive, 'like the true olive', and often used in a contemptuous sense for 'a poor imitation', e. g. *peditaster*, with Dim. *peditastellus* in Plaut. *Mil.* 54 :

at péditastelli quía erant, siui uíuerent,

'they were tag-rag and bob-tail infantry ; so I spared their lives.' The local sense of the TERO-suffix (Gk. *ὀρέστερος*, living in the hills, *ἀγρότερος*, living in the country) appears in *-ter* of *paluster*, *tellustер*, and *-ester* of *campester*, *silvester*. The same suffix is used in Possessive Pronouns in Latin, e. g. *vester*, as in Gk., e. g. *ὑμέτερος*, and in various pronominal and locative Adjectives, with the sense of 'like', 'in the direction of', e. g. *alter*, *uter*, *i-terum*, *citer* (Engl. hither), *exter* (cf. *dexter*, *δεξι-τερός*, *sinister*), to which Adverbs with -tro- correspond, e. g. *citro*, *citra*, *extra*.

This suffix -TERO- must be distinguished from the suffix -TRO-, which was used to form Neuter Nouns indicating an instrument, &c., e. g. *arātrum*, 'an instrument for ploughing', a plough, and from the Latin suffix *-cro-*, which may represent the stem *cĕro-*, making, from the root *cer-*, to make (cf. Lat. *creare*), e. g. *lūdi-cer*, or

stands by Assimilation for *-clo-* when an *l* precedes, e. g. *involū-crum* for **involuclum*. This *-clo-* (I.-Eur. -TLO-, § 9) is a suffix closely associated with -tro-, forming Neuter Nouns which indicate a tool or instrument. Another suffix, -DHRO- (Lat. *-bro-*), is used in the same way, though in Latin it affects also the Feminine gender, *-bra*, e. g. *tĕrĕbra*, a gimlet, borer, from *tero*, to bore ; *crībrum*, a sieve, from *cerno*, to sift. But Lat. *-bro-*, *-bra* represents an original -sro-, -srā- (ch. x. § 19) in *tenĕbrae* (from **temus*, darkness, whence *temerĕ* (ch. vii. § 4)), *cerĕbrum*. Lat. *-ōrus* of *honorus*, *decorus*, *canorus*, *odorus*, &c., stands for *-ōsus* (ch. x. § 19), arising from the addition of the O-suffix to S-stems ; we have *-ērus* in e. g. *severus*, *procerus*.

§ 9. (8) -LŎ-, -LĀ-. This suffix in its various forms was used for Nomina Agentis (Nouns and Adjectives), and often came to denote an instrument, while as a secondary suffix it was specially used to form Diminutives. Thus Engl. shovel, literally ' an instrument with which one shoves ' meant originally ' the shover '; Engl. throstle is a Diminutive. Latin examples are : *lĕgŭlus*, a picker, from *lego* ; *pendulus*, hanging, from *pendo*, *pendeo* ; *vinculum*, a bond, ' an instrument for binding ', from *vincio* ; *cistula*, a little chest, from *cista*. The Diminutive suffix is added a second time in *cistella*, a jewel-box, &c. A common Diminutive suffix is *-colo-*, a combination of the two Diminutive suffixes -KO- (§ 11) and -LO-, e. g. *auricula*, a little ear, *cor-culum*, a little heart, which when added to Adjectives, esp. Comparatives, gives the sense of ' somewhat ', e. g. *meliusculus*, somewhat better. From Diminutive *-culum* must be distinguished the *-culum*,[1] *-clum* from I.-Eur. -TLO-, used to form Neuter Nouns denoting the instrument with which an action is performed or the place of its performance, e. g. *vĕhĭclum* (*vehiculum*), ' that by which one is carried ', *pō-clum* (*poculum*), ' that out of which one drinks ', *cubi-clum* (*cubiculum*), ' the place where one lies down '. The suffix -DHLO- (in Latin *-bŭlum*) had much the same function, e. g. *stă-bulum*, ' a place for standing '. The presence of an *l* in the first part of the word causes a dissimilation of *-clum* to *-crum*, *-blum* to *-brum*, in *ambulā-crum*, ' a place for walking ', &c. Nouns in *-ēla*, like *querela*, *sequela*, are thought to be derived from Neuter ĒS-stems, so that *querela* would stand for **querēsla*, *sequela* for **sequēsla* (ch. x. § 19).

§ 10. (9) -TŎ-, -TĀ-. This suffix was used to form (1) Verbal Adjectives, which in Latin became Perfect Participles Passive, e. g.

[1] This is the form with the Parasitic Vowel (ch. ii. § 12).

geni-tus from the root *gen-* (see ch. vi. § 17). (2) Ordinal Numbers, e. g. *quin(c)tus* (ch. iv. § 5). Abstract Nouns in -TA- are found beside Perf. Participles Pass. in -to-, e. g. Gk. *γενετή*, birth, Lat. *deprensa* (for **deprend-ta*, ch. x. § 17). The TO-suffix is often added to the MEN-suffix (§ 15) in neuter nouns, e. g. Lat. *cognomen-tum* beside *cognomen*, such forms being apparently the Neuter of Participles, formed not from verbs but from nouns (cf. Engl. 'crested', 'horned'); e. g. *cognomentum* points to a **cognomentus* beside *cognominatus*, like *sceles-tus* beside *scelera-tus*. The forms with *-mentum* are, as a rule, those used by prose writers, the forms with *-men* being relegated to poetry. With *-mentum*, Plur. *-menta* has been compared the Greek Plur. *-ματα*, e. g. *στρώματα* (Lat. *strāmenta*), *κασσύματα* (cf. Lat. *assūmenta*). Similar are *arbus-tum*, *salic-tum*, while *arborētum* is a quasi-participle from *arboresco*, like *acētum*, vinegar, from *acesco*; so *nuc-etum*, *ilic-etum*, &c. The *-cētum* of *ilicetum*, &c., and the *-ctum* of *salictum*, &c., were extended by false analogy, e. g. *būcetum*, *vire-ctum*.

§ 11. (10) **-KO-, -KĀ-.** I.-Eur. -ko-, the **-y** of Engl. **'stony', 'angry',** &c., is used mainly in the formation of Adjectives from (1) Adverbs, e. g. *antī-cus*, of place, *antī-quus*, of time, *postī-cus*. (2) Nouns, e. g. *belli-cus*, *civi-cus*. The suffix had often a Diminutive sense, which in Latin was usually expressed by the compound suffix -KO-LO- (§ 9), e. g. *seni-culus* (but also *sene-ca*). Other forms are *-īcus*, e. g. *histriōn-icus*, *-ĭcus*, e. g. *rus-ticus*, *-ācus*, e. g. *am-icus*, *-ācus*, e. g. *mĕr-acus*; and with addition of the YO-suffix (§ 3) *-īcius* (Derivatives from Nouns and Adjectives), e. g. *patrīcius*, *-ĭcius* (Derivatives from Perf. Participles Pass.), e. g. *deditīcius* (also *novīcius*).

§ 12 (11). **Suffixes ending in Ĭ. (Nouns and Adjectives of third Declension.)** I-stems were closely associated with Adjectives; and a good many O-stem Adjectives in Latin have become I-stems, e. g. *inermis* (O. Lat. *inermus*), *sterilis* (*sterilus* Lucr. ii. 845), *sublimis* (*sublimus* Lucr. i. 340 sublimaque caeli). U-stem Adjectives have also become I-stems (ch. iv. § 1), e. g. *brevis* (Gk. *βραχύς*), *levis* (Gk. *ἐλαχύς*). Verbal Adjectives in *-lis* are by-forms with Passive sense of Active Verbal Adjectives in *-lus*, e. g. *bibĭlis*, 'easily drunk', beside *bibŭlus*, 'easily drinking'. So Verbal Adjs. in *-bilis*, connected with the DHLO-suffix, e. g. *ama-bilis*, *no-bilis*, sometimes derived from the P. P. P. stem, e. g. *sensibilis*, *flexibilis*. **-TI-** was the suffix of Verbal Nouns as -TO- of the Perfect Part. Pass. (§ 10), e. g. Gk. *πίστις* beside *πιστός*. These Nouns were of the Fem. gender and

had, like the P. P. P., the weak grade (ch. x. § 12) of the root. Latin examples are: *mens* for m^{e}n-ti-, from the root men-, 'to think'; *fors* for bh^{e}r-ti-, from the root bher-, 'to bear'; *mors* for m^{e}r-ti-, from the root mer-. In Latin, as in Celtic, we find this suffix enlarged by an EN-suffix (§ 15), e. g. *mentio*, Acc. *mentiōnem*; *ratio*, Acc. *ratiōnem*; *datio*, Acc. *dationem*; and this compound suffix supplanted almost entirely the older TI-suffix. The suffix -TĀTI- (or -tāt-), used to form Fem. Abstract Nouns, derived from Adjectives and Nouns, and the similar suffix -TŪTI- (or -tūt-) exhibit this TI-suffix added to the TĀ- and TŪ-suffixes, e. g. Lat. *juventas* (cf. *juventa*), *juventus*. We find a form of the suffix -tūt- augmented by an N-suffix, *-tūdo*, Gen. *-tūdinis*, e. g. *servitūdo* beside *servitūs*. The Ī-suffix was used in forming Feminines in I.-Eur. and appears augmented with *c* in Lat. *genetrīx*, *cornīx*, &c.

§ 13. (12) **Suffixes ending in Ū-.** (Nouns of fourth Decl.) U-stem Adjectives passed in Latin, as we have seen (§ 12), into I-stems, e. g. *gravis* (Gk. *βαρύς*). The suffix -TU- (like the suffix -TI-, § 12) was used to form Verbal Nouns, e. g. *spectatus*, and its Acc. Sg. became the First Supine (ch. vi. § 16), e. g. *spectatum ire*, its Loc. Sg., the Second Supine (ibid.), e. g. *spectatu pulcer*. (On the passage of Fem. O-stems into the U-declension, see ch. iii. § 6.)

§ 14. (13) **-YĒ-, -Ē-.** (Nouns of fifth Decl.) These have been already discussed in ch. iii. § 13.

§ 15. (14) **Suffixes in -N.** (Nouns of third Decl.) An Adjective which is used as a Noun takes this suffix,[1] e. g. *Rufo*, 'the Red', beside *rufus*, red (cf. *Στράβων* beside *στραβός*); and so we find many Latin nicknames in *-ō*, Gen. *-ōnis*, e. g. *Naso*, *Capito*, with terms of contempt like *bibo*, *aleo*. The more respectful formation was in *-ōnus*,[2] e. g. *patronus*.

The MEN-suffix was used to form Neuter Verbal Nouns, e. g. *tegmen*, a covering, from *tego*, to cover. On the connexion of *cognomen* and *cognomentum*, &c., see § 10; and on Verbal Nouns in -TI-EN-, e. g. *captio*, *-ōnis* Gen., see § 12.

§ 16. (15) **Suffixes in -R.** (Nouns of third Decl.) I.-Eur.

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[1] This is the origin of the German 'weak' declension of the Adjective, where the Adj. is preceded by the Def. Article, e. g. des rothen, Gen. Sg., die rothen Nom. Acc. Pl.

[2] Hence Gk. *Λητώ* (Dor. *Λάτω*) became *Lātōna*. *Nebulo* 'a wastrel', used by Terence and Lucilius, was, if we may believe tradition, an impromptu coinage of Scipio Major.

Neuters in -r (-ᵉr) seem to have substituted n for r in the oblique cases (cf. Lat. *fēmur*, Gen. *feminis*, ch. iii. § 1), which has led to such curious declensions in Latin as *it-in-er-is*, *jec-in-or-is* and *joc-in-er-is*. -TER- is the suffix used for forming (1) words of relationship, e. g. *pa·ter*, *ma·ter*, (2) Nomina Agentis, e. g. *da-tor* (Gk. δοτήρ and δώτωρ), which in Latin show the O-grade of the suffix (ch. x. § 12).

§ 17. (16) **Suffixes in Dentals, Gutturals, &c.** (**Nouns of third Decl.**) When a Verb-root ending in a vowel formed the second part of a compound the T-suffix was used, e. g. Lat. *com-es* (stem *com-it-*) from the root ei-, 'to go', *anti-stes* from stā-, 'to stand', *sacerdōs* from dō-, 'to give'. The NT-suffix (-ent-, -ont-) was used to form the Pres. Part. Act., e. g. *ferent-* (Gk. *φέροντ-*), *sont-* (Gk. ὤν; ch. vi. § 17).

The WENT-suffix, like our '-ful', was added to Noun stems to form Adjectives, with the sense 'possessed of', 'abounding in', and occasionally 'resembling', e. g. Gk. χαρίεις for *χαρι-ϝεντ-ς, possessed of grace, graceful. In Latin it is augmented by the TO-suffix (§ 10), e. g. *dolosus* (Gk. δολόεις) for **dolo-venssus*, *nīvosus* (Gk. νιφόεις) for **nivo-venssus*, with *ss* for tt (ch. x. § 17). Older spellings of this suffix are *-onsus*,[1] *-ōssus* (ch. x. § 19 *n.*).

Examples of Guttural Suffixes in Latin are Adjectives in *-āx*, expressing tendency or character, e. g. *bibāx*, *dicāx*, *rapāx*, *pervicāx* (cf. *-ācus*, § 11). (On Fem. *-trīx* see § 12.)

§ 18. (17) **Suffixes in -S.** (**Nouns and Adjectives of third Decl.**) The ĖS-suffix (varying with -ös-, &c., ch. x. § 12) was used to form Neuter Abstract Nouns with E-grade of root (ch. x. § 12) and accent on the root, e. g. I.-Eur. gĕnŏs Nom. Sg., gĕnĕs- in oblique Cases (Gk. *γένος*, *γένε(σ)ος*; Lat. *genus*, older **genos*, *generis*, from **geneses*, ch. iii. § 8). These Neuter-stems became Adjectives by transferring the accent to the suffix and substituting -ēs for -ós in Nom. Sg. Masc., -ĕs in Nom. Sg. Neut., e. g. Gk. *εὐγενής* Masc., *-νές* Neut. Beside them we find occasionally Masc. or Fem. Nouns with -ōs in Nom. Sg., a formation which came into great favour in Latin, e. g. *tenor* Masc. (from **tenōs*, p. 59) beside *tenus* Neut. (Gk. *τένος*, a string) from the root ten-, 'to stretch'. But Adjective

[1] Which refutes the strange theory that *-osus* is merely the Verb *osus*, in the sense, not of 'hating' but of 'smelling', so that *vin-osus* would mean 'wine-reeking'.

S-stems are alien[1] to Latin, the usual way of making an Adj. from a Neuter S-stem being to add the TO-suffix (§ 10), e. g. *scelĕs-tus, funĕs-tus, jūs-tus.* A case of these Neuters was used as an Infinitive in various I.-Eur. languages, e. g. Lat. *gignerĕ* (Loc. Sg.), *amarī* (Dat. Sg.) (see ch. vi. § 15). The YES-suffix was used to form Comparatives, Lat. *-ior* Nom., *-iōris* Gen., e. g. *melior, melioris* (from *meliōs, *meliōs-es*) (ch. iv. § 2).

§ 19. (18) Suffixless Forms. Nouns formed directly from the root, without any suffix except those of the cases, are especially frequent as the second element of a Compound, and take in this position the function of a Nomen Agentis, e. g. *au-spex*, 'seer of birds', from the root *spec-*, to see; *parti-ceps*, 'taking a share'. They are also found independently, e. g. Lat. *dŭx*, a leader. The Lat. Third Conj. Inf. Pass., e. g. *agi*, seems to be the Dat. of a suffixless Verbal Noun (ch. vi. § 15).

§ 20. Composition. Compounds are seldom resolvable into two intact words like Gk. Διόσ-κουροι, Lat. *juris-jurandi*,[2] *patres-familiarum, paen(e)-insula.* The same is true of Reduplicates, which arose out of the habit of repeating a word for the sake of emphasis (cf. 'a great, great deed') or mimicry (cf. Lat. *mur-mur*); for one element is reduced almost beyond recognition, either the second element (in 'broken' or curtailed Reduplication), e. g. Lat. *bal-b-us, gur-g-es*, or more usually the first, e. g. *ci-cind-ela*, a glowworm.[3] So in Compounds the full stem without the case suffixes is generally used in the first part of the Compound, e. g. *jurī-dĭcus* (contrasted with *juris-jurandi*), *patrī-cīda* (contrasted with *patres familiarum*).

In Latin, owing to the weakening of unaccented vowels (ch. ii. § 14), every vowel in the final syllable of such a stem was liable to change under the early accentuation of the first syllable of each word (ch. ii. § 12), the usual reduction of a short vowel being to ĭ (ch. ii. § 14). *Ĭ* is thus the Latin 'Composition-Vowel' par excellence, usually representing I.-Eur. ŏ, which is found not only

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[1] *Degener* is not to be compared with Gk. *ἐνγενής*. It is not a true Latin Compound, but a 'retrograde' formation, a coinage of the Augustan poets from the Verb *degenerare.*

[2] Sometimes only the second part of such Compounds is declined. Thus *holusatri* is the Genitive of *holus-atrum.* Cf. *ipsa, ipsum*, &c., for which we find in O. Lat. also *eapse, eumpse* (p. 87); *alterutrius* (p. 97).

[3] Lat. *gur-gul-io*, the throat, *quer-quĕr-us*, shivering, give equal prominence to both elements.

with O-stems, e. g. Gk. *ἱππόδαμος* (cf. Lat. *belli-ger*), but also often with A-stems, e. g. Gk. *Νικύ-μαχος* beside *νικη-φόρος* (cf. Lat. *alī-ger*), N-stems, e. g. Gk. *ἀκμό-θετον* (cf. Lat. *homī-cīda*), and appended to many Consonant-stems, e. g. Gk. *δρακοντ-ό-μαλλος* (Lat. *ped-ī-sequus*).

Composition does not play so great a part in Latin as in Greek (cf. Liv. xxvi. ii. 4 quos 'androgynos' vulgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone, appellat). The early dramatists and other imitators of Greek poetry incurred the censure of Quintilian for their attempts to reproduce Greek compounds like *κυρταύχην* in Latin, as in Pacuvius' description of dolphins:

Nérei repándirostrum, incúruiceruicúm pecus;

and Virgil uses a periphrasis like (Averna) *sonantia silvis* (*A.* iii. 442), where an earlier poet might have employed a compound like *silvisonus*.[1] The compound Proper Names of other I.-Eur. languages are, as we have seen (§ 3), replaced in Latin (and the other Italic languages) by Adjective IO-stems, such as *Lūcius*.

A caution may find place here against mistaking for true Latin Compounds later 'retrograde' formations, e. g. *degener* (p. 192 *n.*) coined by Virgil from *degenerare*, as *festinus* from *festinare*; *rebellis*, a coinage from *rebellare*; *properus* (p. 54) from *properare*.

II. VERB-STEMS.

§ 21. Tense-stems. The formation of the Present-stem of the Verb has been discussed in §§ 2–5 of ch. vi. We have seen that the Derivative Verbs of the First, Second, and Fourth Conjugations, that is to say, derivatives from A-stems, Ŏ-(Ē-)stems, and I-stems, exhibit a Y-suffix; e. g. *fugo* from *fuga* (stem *fugā-*) represents **fugā-yō* as Gk. *τιμῶ* from the A-stem *τιμή* represents **τιμᾱ-γω* and *τιμῶμεν* represents **τιμᾱγομεν*; similarly *clareo* stands for **clarē-yō*, *finio* for **fini-yō*. Similar Derivatives from U-stems belong to the Third Conjugation, e. g. *statuo* for **statu-yō*, which includes a large number of varied Present-forms, especially (1) Reduplicated, e. g. *gi-gn-o* from the root *gĕn-*. (2) With N-suffix or N-infix, e. g. *ster-n-o* from the root *stĕr-*, *lī-n-qu-o* from the root *leiq^u-* (Gk. *λείπω*). (3) With SKŌ-suffix, e. g. *(g)nō-sco* from the root *gnō-*; while a large number

[1] Cf. *silvifragus*, used by Lucretius, who however complains that the 'patrii sermonis egestas' prevented him from reproducing the Greek compound *ὁμοιομέρεια*, i. 832.

show the ordinary form of the root with no addition but the thematic vowel, e. g. *lĕg-o* from the root *lĕg-*. The formation of the Perfect-stem has been treated in § 10 of the same chapter, with enumeration of the chief Latin types, (1) The Reduplicated Perfect, e. g. *me-min-i* (Gk. *μέ-μον-α*) from the root *men-*, the Reduplication being often dropped, sometimes at a recent stage, e. g. class. Lat. *tuli* for O. Lat. *te-tul-i*, sometimes as far back as the I.-Eur. period, e. g. *vīd-i* (Gk. (*ϝ*)*οἶδα*). The Long-vowel Perfects like *ēgi* from *ago*, *pēgi* (beside *pĕ-pĭg-i*) from *pāngo* (root *pag-*) may be included in this class. (2) The S-Perfect, corresponding to the Greek First Aorist, e. g. *dixi* (O. Lat. *deix-ei*) like Gk. *ἔ-δειξ-α*, from the root *deic-*. (3) the V-Perfect, peculiar to Latin, e. g. *al-u-i* from the root *al-*, *fugā-v-i*, *finī-v-i*, *statui* (O. Lat. *statū-v-i*), *re-plē-v-i* from the root *plē-*, *clar-u-i* for **clarĕ-v-i*, *mon-u-i* for **monĕ-v-i* (ch. ii. § 15 fin.), and perhaps *cāvi*, *fāvi*, &c., if their *āv* stands for *ăvv*, **cav-v-i*, **fav-v-i*.[1] The difference between Present and Perfect of the same Latin Verb, e. g. *sĭno*, *sīvi*, which so often puzzles the beginner, is due to the fact that a separate stem was used for either Tense, it being the exception and not the rule that a Present-stem formation should be retained throughout the conjugation of the verb, e. g. Perf. *junxi* (but Gk. *ἔ-ζευξ-α*) with the N-infix of the Present *ju-n-g-o* (cf. Gk. *ζεύγ-νῡ-μι*).

Examples of the relation of the Perfect- to the Present-stem in Latin are :—I. Reduplicated Perfect. (*a*) With Reduplicated Present, *bĭbo*, *bibi* ; *sisto*, *stiti* ; *sīdo* (for **sĭ-s(ĕ)d-o*), *sīdi*. (*b*) With N-Present, *tă-n-go*, *te-tig-i* (cf. Hom. Gk. *τεταγών*) ; *tu-n-do*, *tu-tud-i* ; *pu-n-go*, *pu-pug-i* ; *pello* (for **pel-n-o*),[2] *pe-pul-i*. The *n* of *tondeo* belongs to the root, for it is a Causative from the root *tend-* (Gk. *τένδω*). (*c*) With SKO-Present, *disco* (for **dic-sco*, ch. x. § 20), *di-dic-i*. (*d*) With Y-Present, *par-i-o*, *pe-per-i*. *Tuli*, which has drifted apart from its original N-Present *tollo* (for **tol-n-o*) and associated itself with *fero*, while *tollo* has adopted as its Perfect the compound *su(b)s-tuli*, was in O. Lat. a Reduplicated Perfect, *te-tul-i*. The Reduplication Syllable has likewise dropped off in *scīdi* (O. Lat. *sci-cid-i*), *fīdi* with their N-Presents *sci-n-do*, *fi-n-do* (from the I.-Eur. root bheid-, Engl. bite), and some verbs the loss of whose Reduplication has left them in a form resembling the Present-stem, e. g.

[1] Hence not, e. g. **cāram* like *fugāram*, **cassem* like *fugassem*.

[2] *Pulsus* should be **pultus* (I.-Eur. p^{e}l-to-), and probably was in O. Lat., for *pulto* is Plautus' form of the Frequentative.

verto, verti; *cūdo, cūdi*, while others retain distinctive features, e. g. *rŭp-i* from *rŭ-m-po*, where the N-Present has the weak-grade of the root reup- (Engl. be-reave); similarly *fŭd-i* from *fŭ-n-do* (root gheud-, Germ. giessen), *vīc-i* from *vĭ-n-co* (root weik-), *līqu-i* (cf. Gk. λέ-λοιπ-α) from *lĭ-n-quo* (root leiq^{u}-, Gk. λείπω); *fūg-i* (Gk. πέ-φευγ-α) beside *fŭg-i-o*, a Y-Present with the weak grade of the root bheug- (Gk. φεύγω); similarly *sēdi* beside *sĕdeo* (cf. Gk. ἕζομαι for *σεδ-yo-μαι, a Y-Present), *lēgi*[1] beside *lĕgo*, a Root-Present. The absence of Reduplication in *vīd-i*, O. Lat. *veidei* (from woid-ai, ch. x. § 8), dates from I.-Eur. times (Gk. οἶδα for *ϝοιδ-α), and must have been equally old in Verbs beginning with a vowel, like *ēdi* from *ĕdo*, *ēmi*[1] from *ĕmo*. We cannot settle the exact age of forms with *ē* in Perfect and Present (cf. *ăgo, ēgi*), like *jăc-i-o, fēc-i* (Gk. ἔ-θηκ-α), *jăc-i-o, jēc-i, cap-i-o, cēp-i*, O. Lat. *ăpio* (*coepio*), **ēpi* (*co-ēpi*, class. *coepi*, a disyllable). These have Y-Presents, while *frăn-go, frēg-i, păn-go, pēg-i* have N-Presents.

II. S-Perfect. (*a*) With Root-Present, *dīco* (O. Lat. *deic-o*), *dīxi* (O. Lat. *deix-ei*, Gk. ἔ-δειξ-α); *-leg-o, -lex-i* (Gk. ἔ-λεξ-α); *reg-o, rex-i* (Gk. ὤ-ρεξ-α); *teg-o, tex-i* (Gk. ἔ-στεξ-α); *dūco* (O. Lat. *douco* from **deuc-o*), *dūxi*. In *uro* (O. Lat. **ouro* from **euso*, Gk. εὔω for **εὐhω*), *ŭs-si* (cf. Gk. εὖσα for **εὐσ-σ-α*) the Perfect has the weak-grade of the root. (*b*) With N-Present, (1) N-infix, *jungo, junxi* (cf. Gk. ἔ-ζευξ-α); *pingo, pinxi; plango, planxi; stringo, strinxi; exstinguo, exstinxi; fingo, finxi*. They all retain this *n* in the Perfect, though not always in the P. P. P., e. g. *jūnctus, exstīnctus, plānctus*, but *pīctus, strīctus, fīctus*; (2) N-suffix, *temno, tempsi* for *tem-s-i*. (*c*) With Y-Present, *saep-i-o, saep-si; haurio* (for **aus-i-o*), *hausi* (for **aus-s-i*, ch. ii. § 9); *haereo* (for **haeseo*), *haesi* (for **haes-s-i*); *a-spic-i-o* (Gk. σκέπτομαι for **σκεπ-yo-μαι*, p. 106 *n.*), *a-spex-i* (Gk. ἐ-σκεψ-ά-μην); *maneo, man-s-i*. On the forms *fulsi* for **fulc-si* from *fulcio*, *fulsi* for **fulg-si* from *fulgeo*, *mulsi* for **mulc-si* from *mulceo*, *mulsi* for **mulg-si* from *mulgeo*, and

[1] The *-lego* of *neg-lego* (ch. ix. § 17), 'I do not care for', *dī-ligo* (**dis-lego*), 'I care for exceedingly', has been referred to a different Verb (cf. Gk. ἀ-λέγω, I care for), which took an S-Perfect, *-lexi*. Hence *neg-lexi, di-lexi*, but *e-legi, de-legi, col-legi*. *Intellexi* however offers a difficulty. The difference in the Perfect of the compounds of *emo*, 'I take', has been referred to a discrimination between *emo* with its acquired sense, 'I buy', and *emo* with its original sense, 'I take'. Hence *coēmi*, 'I bought up', beside *compsi, dempsi, prompsi, sumpsi* (S-Perfects).

with similar loss of Guttural in the Consonant-group, *alsi*, *mersi*, *farsi*, *sparsi*, *tersi*, *torsi*, *tursi*, see ch. x. § 20. The Assimilation (ch. x. § 20) of a Dental to the *s* of the Perfect produced *ss*, e. g. *con-cŭss-i* from *concŭtio*, *jŭssi* from *jubeo* with *b* for original dh (ch. x. § 17), which after a long vowel or diphthong was by the Phonetic Law of classical Latin (ch. ii. § 9) reduced to single *s*, e. g. *clausi* (older *claussi*), *vasi* (older *vassi*), *suasi* (older *suassi*), *laesi* (older *laessi*). The same happened in the case of roots ending in *s*, e. g. *gĕs-si* from the root *gĕs* (Pres. *gero* with *r* for intervocalic *s*, ch. x. § 19), *ŭssi* (see above), *hausi* and *haesi* (see above). *Prĕs-s-i* shows us that *prĕmo* must have had a by-form **prĕso* (cf. Gk. *τρέμω* and *τρε(σ)ω*). The apparent discrepancy between *vivo* and *vīxi* is due to the fact that the root ends in g^u (ch. x. § 18), which in Latin became *v* except before and after a consonant. Hence *vivo* for $g^{u}eig^{u}ō$ (cf. Engl. 'quick', in the sense of 'living'), but *vixi* for **vig-si*, *victus* Noun for **vig-tus*. Similarly *veho* (*vexi*, *vectus*) has an intervocalic gh in its normal Latin form *h* (ch. x. § 18). Cf. *fruor*, *fructus sum*; *fluo*, *fluxi*; *struo*, *struxi*.

III. U-Perfect. This is the Perfect appropriate to Vowel-Verbs, e. g. *re-plē-v-i* from the root *plē-*, *fugā-v-i* from the Derivative of the stem *fugā-*. But we find it also with roots ending in *l*, e. g. *alo*, *alui*; *colo*, *colui*; *molo*, *molui*; *con-sulo*, *con-sului*; *sal-i-o* (Gk. *ἅλλομαι* for **σαλ-γο-μαι*), *salui*. Cf. *gem-ui*, *gen-ui*, *rap-ui*, *ap-er-ui*, and *op-er-ui* (see ch. vii. §§ 2, 23). We have (*a*) a SKO-Present in *(g)nō-sco* (Gk. *γί-γνω-σκω*), *(g)nō-vi*; *pāsco*, *pā-vi*; *crē-sco*, *crē-vi*; *quiē-sco*, *quiē-vi*; *sci-sco*, *scī-vi*; (*b*) an N-Present in *sī-n-o* (root *sei-*), *sī-vi*, of which one Compound *de-sino* retains the true Perfect *desīvi* or, with loss of intervocalic *v* (p. 16 *n.*), *desĭi*, but another, *pōno* for **pŏ-s(i)no* (ch. vii. § 2), came in the classical period to assume a new Perfect *posui* through the influence of the P. P. P. *positus*[1]; *lĭ-n-o* (root *lei-*), *lī-vi*; *sper-n-o* (from root *sper-*), *sprē-vi* (from a by-root *sprē-*); *ster-n-o* (from root *ster-*), *strāvi* (from a by-root *strā-*); *cer-n-o*, *crē-vi*; (*c*) a Reduplicated Present in *sero* (for **si-sō*; cf. Gk. *ἵημι* for **σι-ση-μι*), *sē-vi* from the root *sē-*. The Perfects *arcessivi*, *lacessivi*, *petivi*, &c., point, as we have seen (ch. vi. § 4), to a by-form of the Present, **arcessio*, **lacessio*, **petio*, like *pinsio* beside *pinso*. *Quaesivi* from **quaessio*, a similar by-

[1] *Pŏ-sī-tus* was regarded as *pos-itus* with Verb-stem *pōs-*; and so a Perfect *pos-ui* was coined on the type of *al-ui*, *al-itus*, *mon-ui*, *mon-itus*, &c. But the older writers have invariably *posīvi*, e. g. Catullus xxxiv. 7: quam mater prope Deliam Deposivit olivam.

form of O. Lat. *quaes´s`o* (e. g. Enn. mari quaesentibu' uitam) has become associated with a related Present *quaero* from **quaiso* (with single *s*). *Quaeso*, prithee, is not the same form as *quaero* (ch. x. § 19).

In Vulgar Latin the ending *-ui* greatly extended its domain. *Cognovit* became *cognovuit* (Ital. conobbe), *cecidit* was replaced by *caduit* (Ital. cadde), and so on. With it goes a type of P. P. P. in *-ūtus*, e. g. *cadutus*, fallen (Ital. caduto), *venutus*, come (Ital. venuto). The Perfect ending *-si* also encroached, *respondit* passing to *responsit* (Ital. rispose), *prendit* to *prensit* (Ital. prese), *cucurrit* to *cursit* (Ital. corse), &c.

The other Tense-stems are discussed in ch. vi. §§ 8, 9, 11, 12, and the Mood-stems in § 13 of the same chapter.

§ 22. **Verb-stems.** Of suffixes used in forming Verb-stems, as opposed to Tense-stems, may be mentioned (1) *-dh-*, e. g. Gk. *κνή-θ-ω* beside *κνάω*. (2) *-d-*, e. g. Gk. *ἔλ-δο-μαι* from the root wĕl- (Lat. *volo*), which may be nothing but the Verb-stems dhē- 'to put', and dō- 'to give'. Thus Lat. *crēdo* (with *d* for I.-Eur. dh, ch. x. § 17) meant originally 'I set heart to', the first part of the word being connected with *cor*, the heart. (3) *-t-*, e. g. Gk. *πέκ-τ-ω* (Lat. *pec-t-o*) beside *πέκ-ω*, which seems connected with the P. P. P. suffix *-to-*. (4) *-s-*, e. g. Gk. *δέψω* beside *δέφω*, *τρέ-(σ)-ω* beside *τρέ-μ-ω*, which seems the same as the ĔS-suffix of Nouns, e. g. Gk. *τέλος*, stem *τελεσ-* (Gk. *τελέ(σ)ω*, *τε-τέλεσ-ται*). Latin examples are : *gau-d-eo* (Gk. *γήθομαι* and *γηθέω*) for **gāvī-d-eo* (cf. *gāvīsus*), *sallo* for **sal-do* (Engl. to salt), *plec-to* (Gk. *πλέκ-τ-ω* beside *πλέκ-ω*), *vīso*, older *veisso*, for weid-sō, *in-cesso* for **in-ced-so* (cf. *cēdo*). (5) *-ss-* of *capesso*, *incipisso* (Plaut.), *facesso*, *lacesso*, sometimes called 'Intensives' or 'Desideratives' of *capio*, *incipio*, *facio*, *lacio*, is connected with the Tense-formation (*amasso*, &c.) discussed in ch. vi. § 12. Other Latin endings are : (6) *-lo* and *-illo* of Diminutive Verbs, e. g. *conscribillo* Catull. (7) *-co* of *albĭco*, *fŭdĭco*, &c., another Diminutive suffix (§ 9). (8) *-ro* of *lamb-ero*, *con-sid-ero*, is like *-ro* of the Derivative *temperare* from *tempus*. (9) *-igo* of *navigo*, &c., is nothing but the Verb *ago*, as *-fico* of *aedĭfico*,[1] &c., is the Verb *facio*, both having the form of Derivatives from Compound

[1] A Compound Verb, composed of a Noun and a Simple Verb, takes in Latin the form of a First Conj. Derivative, e. g. *aedĭfico* from *aedĭficus*, in Greek the form of a Second Conj. Derivative, e. g. *οἰκοδομέω* from *οἰκοδόμος*.

Verbal Nouns (cf. *remigo* from *remex*, Gk. *οἰκοδομέω* from *οἰκοδόμος*). Verbs in *-lo*, *-illo*, *-co*, *-ro* similarly show the Derivative Verb type and follow the First Conjugation. On Iteratives or Frequentatives in *-to* (*-so*), derivatives from Perf. Part. Pass. stems, see ch. vi. § 2, and on Desideratives in *-tŭrio* (*-sŭrio*), derivatives from Verbal Nouns in *-tor*, see ch. vi. § 5, on verbs in *-ūrio*, *-urrio*, e. g. *ligurrio*, derivatives from Verbal Nouns in *-ūra*, see ch. vi. § 5.

APPENDIX A

SPECIMENS OF EARLY LATIN

§ 1. **The Forum-inscription** (Sixth cent. B.C.) (written on a broken column):—

Quoi . . . . . [s]akros esed . . . . . regei . . . . . quos
. . . . . kalatorem . . . . . iouxmenta kapia d . . . . . .
iter . . . . . quoihauelod . . . . . (? d)iouestod . . . . . .

Qui . . . . . sacer erit . . . . . regi . . . . . quos
. . . . . calatorem . . . . . iumenta capiat (? Gabia) . . . . . .
iter (?). . . . . ? ? . . . . . iusto . . . . . .

(I omit a number of doubtful fragmentary words. Even the true order of some lines is uncertain. Any attempt at a coherent translation is out of the question.)

§ 2. **The Dvenos-inscription** (Sixth to fourth cent. B.C.) (written on a sacrificial vessel):—

Iouesat deiuos qoi med mitat, nei ted endo cosmis uirco sied asted, noisi Ope Toitesiai pakari uois. Duenos med feced (? feked) en manom einom. Duenoi ne med malo statod.

Iurat deos qui me mittat, ne te indo comis Virgo sit adstet (?), *nisi Opem Tuteriae pacrem*[1] *vis. Bēnus*[2] *me fecit in mānum enim*[3] (? *unum*), *Beno ne me malum stato.* 'Whoso offers me swears by the gods, may Proserpine not be kind to thee nor stand by thee, unless thou wouldst have the Help of Tuteria appeased. Benus made me for good indeed. For Benus (the good?) may not evil arise (lit. 'stand') from me.'

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[1] A RI-stem Adj. from the root of *pāx*. Al. *pacare* (2 Sg. Pres. Ind.) *vobis*.

[2] Cf. *bene* beside *bonus*.

[3] With the same use of *enim* as Virgil's tibi enim, tibi, maxima Juno (*A.* viii. 84). The O. Lat. Adj. *mānus* 'good' is connected with *im-manis* lit. 'not good', *Manes* 'the good deities'. The translation given above is by no means certain.

§ 3. The Scipio Epitaphs (from end of third to middle of second cent. B.C.) (in Saturnian Metre) :—

(*a*) Honc oino ploirume cosentiont R[omai]
Duonoro optumo fuise uiro,
Luciom Scipione; filios Barbati
Consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet a[pud uos]:
Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe:
Dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d].

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum, Lucium Scipionem: filius Barbati consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos. Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem; dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito.

(*b*) Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus,
Gnaiuod patre prognatus fortis uir sapiensque,
Quoius forma uirtutei parisuma fuit,
Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud uos,
Taurasia, Cisauna Samnio cepit,
Subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, Gnaeo patre prognatus fortis vir sapiensque, cuius forma virtuti parissima fuit, consul, censor, aedilis qui fuit apud vos, Taurasiam, Cisaunam, Samnium cepit, subigit omnem Lucanam obsidesque abducit.

(*c*) Quei apice, insigne Dialis flaminis, gesistei,
Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia breuia,
Honos, fama uirtusque, gloria atque ingenium;
Quibus sei in longa licuiset tibe utier uita,
Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum.
Quare lubens te in gremium, Scipio, recipit
Terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

Qui apicem, insigne Dialis flaminis, gessisti, Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia, honos, fama virtusque, gloria atque ingenium; quibus si in longa licuisset tibi uti vita, facile factis superasses gloriam majorum. Quare libens te in gremium, Scipio, recipit terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

(*d*) Magna sapientia multasque uirtutes
Aetate quom parua posidet hoc saxsum.
Quoiei Vita defecit non Honos honore,
Is hic situs, quei nunquam uictus est uirtutei.
Annos gnatus XX is l[oc]eis mandatus.
Ne quairatis honore quei minus sit mandatus.

Magnam sapientiam multasque virtutes aetate cum parva possidet hoc saxum. Cui Vita defecit non Honos honorem, is hic situs, qui nunquam

victus est virtute. Annos natus viginti is (? *iis*) *locis mandatus. Ne quaeratis honorem qui* (*qui*?) *minus* (i. e. *non*) *sit mandatus.*

(*e*) (On Cn. Scipio Hispanus, praetor 139 B. C.) (Elegiacs):—

Virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulaui,
Progenie mi genui, facta patris petiei,
Maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibei me esse creatum
Laetentur ; stirpem nobilitauit honor.

§ 4. **The Decree of Aemilius Paulus** (189 B. C.):—

L. Aimilius L. f. inpeirator decreiuit utei quei Hastensium seruei in turri Lascutana habitarent leiberei essent, agrum oppidumque, quod ea tempestate posedisent, item possidere habereque iousit dum poplus senatusque Romanus uellet. Act. in castreis A. D. xii. K. Febr.

L. Aemilius L. f. imperator decrevit uti qui Hastensium servi in turri Lascutana habitarent liberi essent, agrum oppidumque, quod ea tempestate possedissent, item possidere habereque jussit dum populus senatusque Romanus vellet. Act. in castris a(*nt*)*e d*(*iem*) xii. *k*(*alendas*) *Febr.*

§ 5. **The Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus** (186 B. C.).

Q. Marcius L. f., S. Postumius L. f. cos. senatum consoluerunt N. Octob. apud aedem Duelonai. Sc. arf. M. Claudi M. f., L. Valeri P. f., Q. Minuci C. f. De Bacanalibus quei foideratei esent ita exdeicendum censuere. Neiquis eorum Bacanal habuise uelet. Seiques esent, quei sibei deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, eeis utei ad pr. urbanum Romam uenirent ; deque eeis rebus, ubei eorum uerba audita esent, utei senatus noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur. Bacas uir nequis adiese uelet ceiuis Romanus neue nominus Latini neue socium quisquam, nisei pr. urbanum adiesent isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset. Censuere. Sacerdos nequis uir eset. Magister neque uir neque mulier quisquam eset. Neue pecuniam quisquam eorum comoinem habuise uelet, neue magistratum, neue pro magistratud neque uirum neque mulierem quiquam fecise uelet. Neue post hac inter sed coniourase neue comuouise, neue conspondise, neue conpromesise uelet, neue quisquam fidem inter sed dedise uelet. Sacra in oquoltod ne quisquam fecise uelet, neue in poplicod, neue in preiuatod, neue exstrad urbem sacra quisquam fecise uelet, nisei pr. urbanum adieset, isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset. Censuere. Homines plous V oinuorsei, uirei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecise uelet, neue inter ibei uirei plous duobus, mulieribus plous

tribus, arfuise uelent, nisei de pr. urbani senatuosque sententiad, utei suprad scriptum est. Haice utei in couentionid exdeicatis ne minus trinum noundinum; senatuosque sententiam utei scientes esetis. Eorum sententia ita fuit: sei ques esent, quei aruorsum ead fecisent quam suprad scriptum est, eeis rem caputalem faciendam censuere. Atque utei hoce in tabolam ahenam inceideretis: ita senatus aiquom censuit; uteique eam figier ioubeatis, ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit; atque utei ea Bacanalia, sei qua sunt, exstrad quam sei quid ibei sacri est, ita utei suprad scriptum est, in diebus X quibus uobeis tabelai datai erunt faciatis utei dismota sient.

Q. Marcius L. f(ilius), S. Postumius L. f. cons. senatum consuluerunt N(onis) Octob(ribus) apud aedem Bellonae. Sc(ribendo) adf(uerunt) M. Claudius M. f., L. Valerius P. f., Q. Minucius C. f. De Bacchanalibus qui foederati essent ita edicendum censuere. Nequis eorum Bacchanal habuisse vellet. Siqui essent, qui sibi dicerent necesse esse Bacchanal habere, ei uti ad pr. urbanum Romam venirent, deque eis rebus, ubi eorum verba audita essent, uti senatus noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent cum ea res consuleretur. Bacchas vir nequis adiisse vellet civis Romanus, neve nominis Latini, neve sociorum quisquam, nisi pr. urbanum adiissent, isque de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent cum ea res consuleretur, iussisset. Censuere. Sacerdos nequis vir esset. Magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam esset: neve pecuniam quisquam eorum communem habuisse vellet, neve magistratum, neve pro magistratu neque virum neque mulierem quisquam fecisse vellet. Neve posthac inter se coniurasse neve convovisse, neve conspondisse, neve compromisisse vellet, neve quisquam fidem inter se dedisse vellet. Sacra in occulto ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve in publico, neve in privato, neve extra urbem sacra quisquam fecisse vellet, nisi pr. urbanum adiisset, isque de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent cum ea res consuleretur, iussisset. Censuere. Homines plus V universi, viri atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve interibi viri plus duobus, mulieribus plus tribus, adfuisse vellent, nisi de pr. urbani senatusque sententia, uti supra scriptum est. Haec uti in contione edicatis ne minus trinum nundinum, senatusque sententiam uti scientes essetis. Eorum sententia ita fuit: siqui essent qui advorsum eā (Adv.) *fecissent, quam supra scriptum est, eis rem capitalem faciendam censuere. Atque uti hoc in tabulam ahenam incideretis: ita senatus aequum censuit; utique eam figi iubeatis, ubi facillime nosci possit; atque uti ea Bacchanalia, siqua sunt, extra quam siquid ibi sacri est, ita uti scriptum est, in diebus X, quibus vobis tabellae datae erunt, faciatis uti dimota sint.*

§ 6. **The Spoleto Inscription** (*c.* 180 B.C.).

Honce loucom nequis uiolatod neque exuehito neque exferto quod louci siet neque cedito nesei quo die res deina anua fiet. Eod die quod reidinai causa fiat sine dolo cedre licetod. Seiquis uiolasit, Ioue bouid piaclum datod. Seiquis scies uiolasit dolo malo, Iouei bouid piaclum datod et a. CCC moltai suntod ; eius piacli moltaique dicatore exactio estod.

Hunc lucum nequis violato neque evehito neque efferto quod luci sit neque caedito nisi quo die res divina annua fiet. Eo die quod rei divinae causa fiat sine dolo caedere liceto. Si quis violassit, Jovi bove piaclum dato. Siquis sciens violassit dolo malo, Jovi bove piaclum dato et a. CCC multae sunto ; ejus piaculi multaeque dicatori exactio esto.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF SPELLINGS

(Cf. ch. ii. §§ 10, 14; ch. x. § 20.)

abicio, adicio, &c., better than *abjicio*, &c.
adulescens (Noun), not *adolescens*.
aequipero, not *aequiparo*.
aerumna, not *erumna*.
aestimo: *aestumo* is the older spelling.
afui, &c., not *abfui*, &c.
Alexandrea, Dareus, &c., is the spelling of the Republic; *Alexandria, Darius*, of the Empire.
ālium, better than *allium*.
amoenus, not *amenus*.
ancora, better than *anchora*.
anulus, not *annulus*.
arcesso: *accerso* is a colloquial form.
artus, artare: *arctus, arctare* are earlier spellings.
auctor, auctoritas, not *autor, autoritas* (ch. ii. § 10).
Autumnus, not *Auctumnus*.
belua, not *bellua*.
beneficium, &c., better than *benificium*, &c.
bracchium and *brachium*.
bucina, not *buccina*.
caecus, not *coecus*.
caelebs, not *coelebs*.
caelum, not *coelum*.
caementum, not *cementum*.
caenum, not *coenum*.
caerimonia and *caeremonia*, not *cer-*.
caesaries, not *cesaries*.
caespes, better than *cespes*.
caestus, not *cestus*.
Camena, not *Camoena*.
cena, not *coena*, though this misspelling was of early date (ch. ii. § 10).
ceteri, not *caeteri*.
claudo, not *cludo* (post-class.).
clipeus: *clupeus* is the older spelling.
comminus, not *cominus* (ch. ii. § 10).
condicio, better than *conditio*.
conecto, conitor, coniveo, conubium, better than *connecto*, &c.
conjunx, better than *conjux*.
contio, not *concio* (ch. ii. § 10).
convicium, not *convitium*.
cottidie and *cotidie*, not *quotidie*.
culleus, not *culeus*.
damnum, not *dampnum*.
deliro, better than *delero* (ch. ii. § 10).
dicio, better than *ditio*.
dinosco: *dignosco* is the older spelling.
dissipo: *dissupo* is the older spelling (ch. ii. § 15).
distinguo, not *distingo*.
elegans, better than *eligans*.
emptus, &c., not *emtus*, &c.
epistula, better than *epistola*.
erus, better than *herus*.
existimo (see *aestimo*).

exsanguis, exscindo, &c., better than *exanguis, excindo*.
facinorosus, better than *facinerosus*.
faenum, and *fenum*, not *foenum*.
faenus, and *fenus*.
fecundus, not *foecundus*.
femina, not *foemina*.
fetus, not *foetus*.
frenum, not *fraenum*.
futilis, better than *futilis*.
genetivus, better than *genitivus*.
genetrix, better than *genitrix*.
gleba and *glaeba*.
Hadria, not *Adria*.
haedus, not *hedus*.
harena, probably better than *arena* (ch. ii. § 10).
harundo, probably better than *arundo*.
haruspex, probably better than *aruspex*.
hedera, better than *edera*.
helluo, better than *heluo*.
heres, not *haeres*, nor *eres*.
hiems, better than *hiemps*.
holus and *olus*.
hordeum, not *-ium*.
ilico, not *illico*.
inclitus, and *inclutus* (older); not *inclytus* (ch. i. § 6).
incoho and *inchoo*.
indutiae, not *-ciae*.
infitiae, not *-ciae*.
intellego, better than *intelligo*.
jucundus, better than *jocundus*.
Juppiter, better than *Jupiter*.
lacrima, and *lacruma* (older): not *lachrima*, nor *lachryma*, nor *lacryma* (ch. i. § 6).
libet: *lubet* is the older spelling.
littera, better than *litera*.
litus, better than *littus*.
macreo, maestus, not *moereo, moestus*.
malevolus, &c., probably better than *malivolus*, &c.
manifestus: *manufestus* is the older spelling (ch. ii. § 15).
mercennarius, not *mercenarius*.
milia, not *millia* (ante-class.) (ch. ii. § 9).
mixtus, not *mistus*.
monumentum and *monimentum*.
multa: *mulcta* is the old spelling.
murena, probably better than *muraena*.
nactus and *nanctus*.
navus, better than *gnavus* (older).
nī 'verily', not *nae* (ch. § 16).
neglego, better than *negligo*.
negotium, not *negocium*.
nenia, not *naenia*.
nequiquam and *nequicquam*.
novicius, not *novitius*.
nummus, better than *numus*.
nuntio, not *nuncio* (ch. ii. § 10).
oboedio, not *obedio*.
obscenus, better than *obscaenus*: not *obscoenus*.
onustus, better than *honustus*.
otium, not *ocium*.
paelex and *pelex*, not *pellex*.
Paeligni, not *Peligni*.
paene, not *pene* nor *poene*.
paenitet, not *penitet*, nor *poenitet*.
paulum: *paullum* is the older spelling.
percontor, probably better than *percunctor*.
perennis, not *peremnis*.
pernicies, not *pernities* (p. 69).
pilleus, better than *pileus*.
Pollio and *Polio*.
pomerium, better than *pomoerium*.
pontifex: *pontufex* is the older spelling.

praesepe, better than *praesaepe*.
prelum, not *praelum*.
pretium, not *precium*.
proelium, not *praelium*.
proscaenium, probably better than *proscenium*.
pulcher, superseded *pulcer* (ch. i. § 6).
quattuor, better than *quatuor*.
quoties: *quotiens* is the older spelling.
raeda, better than *reda*: not *rh-*.
Raetia, not *Rhaetia*.
reccĭdi, not *recidi*.
recipero: *recupero* is the older spelling.
religio: *relligio* is the older spelling.
reliquiae; *relliquiae* is the older spelling.
repperi, *reppuli*, *rettuli*, not *reperi*, *repuli*, *retuli* (ch. vi. § 10).
restinguo, not *-go*.
saeculum, not *seculum*.
saepes, *saepio*, better than *sep-*.
saeta, better than *seta*.
sario, not *sarrio*.
satira and *satura* (older): not *satyra*.
scaena, better than *scena* (p. 14).
sepulcrum, better than *sepulchrum* (ch. ii. § 10).
sescenti, better than *sexcenti*.
sētius, not *secius*.
solacium, not *solatium*.
sollemnis, not *sollennis*, nor *sollempnis*.
sollers, not *solers*.
sollicito, not *solicito*.
spatium, not *-cium*.
stilus, not *stylus*.
suboles, not *soboles*.
sucus, better than *succus*.
sulphur and *sulpur*, not *sulfur* (ch. ii. § 6).
suscenseo, better than *succenseo*.
suspĭcio, better than *suspitio*.
taeter, not *teter*.
temno, not *tempno*.
tempto, not *tento*.
thesaurus: *thensaurus* is the older spelling.
Thrax and *Thraex*.
tingo and *tinguo*.
toties: *totiens* is the older spelling.
transmitto, &c., and *tramitto*, &c.
tus, better than *thus* (ch. i. § 6).
umerus, better than *humerus*.
umor, *umidus*, better than *humor*, *humidus* (ch. ii. § 10).
unguo and *ungo*.
valētudo, not *valitudo*.
Vergilius, not *Virgilius* (late), (cf. p. 11 *n.*),
Verginius, not *Virginius* (late).
vertex: *vortex* is the older spelling.
vicesimus, commoner than *vigesimus*.
victima: *victuma* is the older spelling (ch. ii. § 15).
vilicus, not *villicus* (ante-class.) (ch. ii. § 9).

(For details about these spellings the student should consult Georges, *Lexikon der Lateinischen Wortformen*, Leipzig, 1889; Brambach, *Hülfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung*, third ed., Leipzig, 1884; or the larger work by the same author, *Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie*, Leipzig, 1868. The spelling of Quintilian's time should be our model.)

APPENDIX C

LIST OF 'HIDDEN' QUANTITIES

(See p. 12 on *ns, nf.*)

abiēgnus.
āctus (**P. P. P. & Noun**).
afflictus.
aliōrsum (for *aliōvorsum*).
ārdeo (Cf. *āridus*).
būstum.
calēsco, and other 'Inceptives' of 2 Conj. Verbs.
catēlla (Dim. of *catēna*).
chirūrgus (Gk. χειρουργός).
cīnctus.
clāssis.
cōmpsi, cōmptus.
conjūnx.
cōntio (probably).
corōlla (Dim. of *corōna*).
crāstinus (from *crās*).
crēsco.
crīspus.
cūnctus.
dēmpsi, dēmptus.
dīgnus (probably).
dīxi, dictus.
dūxi (probably), *ductus.*
ēsca.
Etrūscus (cf. *Etrūria*).
exīstimo (from *ex* and *aestimo*, as *excīsus* from *ex* and *caesus*).
exstīnctus.
fēstus (cf. *fēriae*).
fictus.
fixus.
flūctus.
flōsculus (Dim. of *flōs*).
frāngo, frāctus.
frūstra (from *fraus*).
fūnctus.
fūrtim, fūrtivus, fūrtum (from *fūr*).
geōrgicus (Gk. γεωργικός).
hēsternus.
illex, lawless (but *illex*, alluring).
intrōrsum (for *intrōvorsum*).
jūnxi, jūnctus.
jūrgo (older *jūrigo*, from *jūs* and *ago*).
jūstus (from *jūs*).
lārdum (older *lāridum*).
lārva (older *lārua*, trisyll.).
lātrina (older *lavātrina*).
lātro, I bark.
lēctus.
lex.
lictor.
lūctor.
lūctus (cf. *lūgeo*).
lūstrum, expiation.
lux.
mālle (older *māvelle*).
Mānlius (from *Mānius*).
Mārcus, Mārcellus, &c.
Mārs (cf. *Mavors*).
māssa (Gk. μᾶζα).
mercēnnarius (for **mercēd-narius*).
mīlle.
mīlvus (older *mīluos*, trisyll.).
mūsculus (Dim. of *mūs*).
nāscor.
nefāstus (from *fās*).
nōlle (from **novelle*, ch. vi. § 23).
nōndum (cf. *nōn*).
nōngenti (from **novengenti*).
nōnne, nōnnūlli (cf. *nōn*).
nōsco.
nūllus (see *ūllus*).
nūndinae (older *noundinae*).
nūntius (from *noventius*).
nūtrio.

ōsculum, ōscillum (Dim. of *ōs*).
ōstium (cf. *ōs*).
Paelignus.
palūster (from *palūs*).
pāsco, pāstus, pāstor.
pīstor.
plēbs.
plēctrum (Gk. *πλῆκτρον*).
Pōllio.
prēndo (older *prehendo*).
prīnceps (cf. *prīmus*).
prīscus, prīstinus.
privīgnus.
prōmpsi, prōmptus.
prōrsus (older *prōvorsus*).
pūblicus, Pūblius (from *pūbes*).
pūrgo (older *pūrigo*, from *pūrus* and *ago*).
quārtus.
quiēsco.
quīnque, quīntus, quīndecim, &c.
quōrsus (older *quōvorsus*).
rāstrum (from *rādo*).
rēgnum.
rēx.
rēxi, rēctus.
rōscidus (from *rōs*).
rōstrum (from *rōdo*).
rūcto.
rūrsus (from *re-vorsus*).
rūsticus (from *rūs*).
sānctus.
scēptrum (Gk. *σκῆπτρον*).
scīsco.
scrīptum.
sēgnis.
semēstris (from *mēnsis*).
sēsqui- (from *sēmisque*).
sēstertius (from *sēmis*).
Sēstius.
sīgnum (probably).
sīstrum (Gk. *σείστρον*).
sōlstitium (cf. *sōl*).
stāgnum.
stīlla.
suēsco.
sūmpsi, sūmptus.
sūrsum.
tāctus.
tēxi, tēctus.
trīstis.
ūllus (Dim. of *ūnus*).
ùltra, ùltimus.
ŭnguo, ŭnctus.
ūsque.
ŭssi, ŭstus.
usūrpo (older **usūripo*).
vāllum.
vāsculum (Dim. of *vās*).
vāstus.
vēndo (cf. *vēnum do*).
vērnus (from *vēr*).
vīctus, vīctor.
villa.
vīndemia (from *vīnum* and *demo*).
Vipsanius.
vīscus.
vīxi.

(For the evidence of these quantities, the student may consult Marx, *Hülfsbüchlein für die Aussprache Lateinischer Vokale in positionslangen Silben*, second ed., Berlin, 1889, a book to be used with great caution; Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrata Romanischer Wörter*, a series of articles in the *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie*, vols. i–iv; also Christiansen, *De Apicibus et Longis inscriptionum Latinarum*, Kiel, 1889. The weakening of a vowel in Composition is a proof that the vowel was short, for long vowels were not affected by loss of accent (p. 35). Thus *inermis* attests *ărma*, *infringo* attests *frāngo*, &c. On the Latin Grammarians' evidence, see Heraeus in *Arch. Lat. Lexikogr.* xiv.)

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